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THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON

B

Drawn by T. Simpson. Engraved by J. Collyer.

JOHN MILTON,

Born 1608. Died 1674.

From the original Painting by Faithorne,
in the possession of William Baker Esq.r

Published 1809, by F. C & J. Rivington, St. Paul's Church Yard.

THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON,

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON,

BY THE REV. HENRY J. TODD, M.A. F.A.S.
RECTOR OF ALLHALLOWS, LOMBARD-STREET, &c.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,

AND WITH

A VERBAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE OF MILTON'S POETRY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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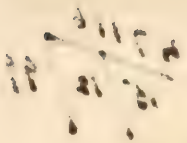

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS MEMORY

OF

FRANCIS, DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER,

TO WHOSE KINDNESS THESE VOLUMES

OWE CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE,

AND THE EDITOR OF THEM

THE MOST HEART-FELT OBLIGATION,

THIS EDITION OF MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS

IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

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PREFACE *.

THE PUBLICK is here preſented with a complete edition of the Poetical Works of Milton, accompanied with notes of various authors.

To this undertaking I was invited, and encouraged, at the cloſe of the year 1798. Without this previous declaration, I might have been accuſed of intruſion into the preſent office. Senſible that the taſk would have been better executed by many recent annotators on Milton, I would not indeed have liſtened to the unexpected application of engaging in an employment ſo important, if ſome literary friends had not promiſed their aſſiſtance. I therefore undertook to arrange my materials; and continued my inquiries till the cloſe of the year 1799, when the edition began to be printed; at which time, nearly half a century had elapſed ſince the publication of the Poetical Works entire, with illuſtrations. And my attention to the progreſs and completion of the work in 1801, was conſtant and unwearied.

Of thoſe criticks and annotators, whoſe obſervations were ſelected in 1749, &c. by Dr. Newton; as well as of thoſe, with whoſe ſubſequent remarks the following pages are enriched; ſome account may be thought neceſſary.

The firſt annotator on the poet was Patrick Hume, a Scotchman. He publiſhed, in 1695, a copious commentary on the *Paradiſe Loſt*; "[a] to which ſome of his ſucceſſours in the ſame province," ſays Mr. Warton, "apprehending no danger of detection from

* This is the Preface to my firſt edition of Milton's Poetical Works, with ſuch alterations and additions, as on account of unintentional miſtake or omiſſion, new materials, and other circumſtances, are requiſite. H. J. T.

[a] Preface to his edition of Milton's Smaller Poems.

a work rarely inſpected, and too pedantick and cumberſome to attract many readers, have been often amply indebted, without even the moſt diſtant hint of acknowledgement." His illuſtrations in theſe volumes will be rarely found unintereſting. To him ſucceeded the elegant Addiſon, by whoſe "[b] blandiſhments of gentleneſs and facility, Milton has been made an univerſal favourite, with whom readers of every claſs think it neceſſary to be acquainted." His eſſays on the *Paradiſe Loſt* are here printed as a Preliminary Diſſertation; the remarks on each *particular book* not being detached from the *general* obſervations on the Poem, becauſe the author himſelf was deſirous that the reader ſhould not neglect to view the [c] *whole extent* of his criticiſm. By the ſame critick [d] *Comus* and [e] *L'Allegro* had been before commended. In 1732, Dr. Bentley publiſhed a ſplendid edition of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, by which he acquired no honour. His ſpecious pretences of an interpolated text, and his arbitrary method of emendation, were received with deriſion and diſguſt. Yet there are ſome notes, in the edition, which beſpeak the unvitiated taſte of this eminent ſcholar, and to which the claſſical reader will always thankfully ſubſcribe. Immediately after the publication of this edition, the admirers of Milton were gratified by Dr. Pearce's maſterly and candid refutation of the editor's chimerical corrections: And the *Review of the Text of Paradiſe Loſt* furniſhed abundant annotations, at once inſtructive and delightful. In 1734, the two Richardſons publiſhed their *Expla-*

[b] Dr. Johnſon's Life of Addiſon.

[c] See the Prolegomena in the ſecond volume of this edition, p. 18. Dr. Johnſon alſo wrote his Eſſay on Milton's Verſification, in order to ſerve as *a continuation* of this criticiſm. See the Proleg. in the ſecond vol. pp. 152, 156.

[d] Tatler, No. 98. Nov. 24, 1709.

[e] Spectator, No. 249. Dec. 15, 1711.

natory Notes on the Paradiſe Loſt. Soon afterwards, Dr. Warburton communicated to the world ſome remarks upon the ſame poem. An *Eſſay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, ſaid to be written by a gentleman of North Britain, whoſe name, it is believed, has not been divulged; the *Letters concerning poetical Tranſlations*, aſcribed to Auditor Benſon; and the *Critical Obſervations on Shakſpeare*, in which are interſperſed remarks upon Milton, by Mr. Upton; were the next publications, from which Dr. Newton profeſſes to have derived aſſiſtance. But, beſides the flower of thoſe which had been already publiſhed, he added many new obſervations both of others and his own. He was indebted, for ſeveral ingenious illuſtrations of *Paradiſe Loſt* to his relation, Dr. Greenwood. He was alſo obliged by the uſe of Dr. Heylin's manuſcript remarks on the ſame poem; which had been before communicated to Bentley, and of which the greater part (according to his account) had been diſingenuouſly [f] adopted,

[f] " I cannot," if I may employ Milton's expreſſions, " think" Bentley " ſo to ſeek, or ſo unprincipled in" criticiſm's " book," as to be guilty of this meanneſs. I have been lately favoured, by the Rev. J. Mitford, (in whoſe poſſeſſion this literary curioſity now is,) with the examination of Tonſon's quarto edition of *Paradiſe Loſt*, 1720, containing Bentley's alterations of the text, as well as various memoranda for notes. Theſe are probably the *firſt* expreſſions and remarks of the great critick, in regard to the labour which he had undertaken. It may be acceptable to the curious reader, (and it is evident that they do not minutely accord with Bentley's edition,) if I preſent him with ſpecimens from the beginning and end of the poem.

B. i. ver. 5. *facred* top.
ver. 13. adventurous *wing*.
ver. 15. *I purſue*.
ver. 16. *verſe*, (5, 15.) then *ſong*.
ver. 18. —— *th' heart upright*. (221. 2, 72.)
ver. 26. —— to *Man*.
ver. 28. deep *gulph*.
ver. 34. whoſe *wile*. (646. 9, 85. And note at the bottom, *Epheſ.* vi. 11. Wile, craft, guile, fraud.)

by that critick, without acknowledgement. By the manuſcript communications of Richardſon, Jortin, and Warburton; and more particularly by thoſe of the modeſt and liberal Mr. Thyer; his commentary on *Paradiſe Loſt* was conſiderably enlarged. To the ſame learned coadjutors, with the addition of ſuch reſpectable names as Sympſon, and Seward, the editors of Beaumont and Fletcher; of the Rev. Mr. Meadowcourt, Prebendary of Worceſter; of the Rev. Mr. Calton of Lincolnſhire; and of Mr. Peck, the antiquary; Dr. Newton's ſubſequent edition of *Paradiſe Regained, Samſon Agoniſtes,* and the *Smaller Poems,* was alſo gratefully indebted.

In the year after the publication of Dr. Newton's edition of *Paradiſe Loſt*, there was publiſhed at Glaſgow the firſt Book of that poem with a large and very learned commentary; from which ſome notes are ſelected in this edition. They, who are acquainted with this commentary, will concur with me in wiſhing that the annotator had continued his ingenious and elaborate criticiſms on the whole poem. That annotator, I find, was Mr. Callander. And ſince the publication of my firſt edition of theſe

B. i. ver. 36. *Thee* mother, &c.
ver. 39. *God's Son.* (5. 660. And at the bottom,
To place in glory above the Son of God.)
ver. 46. ruin and *confuſion.*
ver. 48. *circling.* (2. 647. And at the bottom,
Inchain'd with adamant rock and circling fire.
Alſo, over *circling* is written *ſolid.*)
B. xii. ver. 599. ——— *her firſt to know.*
ver. 602. ——————— *with cauſe*
Humbled for evils paſt —
ver. 610. *Whither thou went'ſt, and whence return'ſt* —
ver. 643. *blade.* (592. xi. 120. And note below, *flaming ſword.* Gen. i. 24.)
ver. 648. *Then* ———— *wearied,* afterwards *carefull,* next *ſocial,* and laſtly
——————— *with ſocial ſteps their way*
Through Eden took, with hope and promiſe chear'd.
And for *hope and promiſe* is alſo given *heav'nly favour.*

volumes, I have been favoured, by the learned Malcolm Laing, Eſq. with a ſmall interleaved Copy of *Paradiſe Loſt*, containing memoranda of Mr. Callander for notes on the whole poem, and a few remarks completed.

In a letter from the late Mr. Maſon to Dodſley, the bookſeller, dated May 31, 1747, which was in the poſſeſſion of my friend, the late Iſaac Reed, Eſq. an editorial intention is announced; which, though not accompliſhed, it may not be improper here to notice; as it coincides with the opinion of him, who has ſo ably illuſtrated the picturesque deſcription, and romantick imagery, of the poems which Mr. Maſon mentions; and to whoſe illuſtrations the editor muſt next expreſs his obligations. "I could wiſh to know," ſays Mr. Maſon, "whether Tonſon or any other Bookſeller has a property in the ſecond volume of Milton. I have often thought it a great pity that many of the beautiful pieces it contains ſhould be ſo little read as they certainly are. I fancy this has ariſen from *the bad thing* they are tack'd to. I want vaſtly to have a ſeparate edition of the *Tragedy*, *Maſk*, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, &c. And I fancy I ſhall ſome time or other undertake it myſelf; but, if you think that it would ſell at preſent, I would willingly give you my aſſiſtance either for a preface, or notes, or any thing that ſhould be thought neceſſary; and this merely for the ſake of the incomparable poet, whom I am not content with having conſidered and praiſed as the Author of *Paradiſe Loſt* alone."

What Mr. Maſon might have intended, the late Mr. Warton effected. In 1785 the Publick was preſented with *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penſeroſo*, *Arcades*, *Comus*, *Odes*, *Sonnets*, &c. accompanied with Mr. Warton's critical and explanatory notes; of which a ſecond edition, with many alterations and large additions, was publiſhed in 1791, ſoon after his lamented death: In whom Poetry and Antiquity loſt

one of their moſt zealous votaries, Criticiſm one of its ableſt aſſertors, Society one of its moſt agreeable members, and the Univerſity of Oxford one of her moſt valuable and moſt reſpected ſons. Mr. Warton appears to have alſo planned an edition of *Paradiſe Regained* and *Samſon Agoniſtes*, by having omitted in the latter edition ſuch notes as more immediately related to thoſe poems, and which had appeared in the former edition; and by ſubſtituting merely references to the notes on thoſe reſpective paſſages. The ſignatures to the ſheets of his latter edition are numbered indeed *volume the firſt*. From both theſe editions, in which the names of Warburton, Hurd, Bowle, and Dr. Joſeph Warton, often occur as annotators, the moſt valuable illuſtrations have been derived to the following pages. I have been alſo greatly obliged, ſince the publication of my firſt edition, to the Rev. John Warton, for the notes in manuſcript, both of his father and uncle, on the *Paradiſe Regained* and *Samſon Agoniſtes*. They are indeed but few in number. Thoſe of the latter appear to have been principally drawn from his firſt edition of the *Smaller Poems*, in ſubſerviency to the plan juſt noticed. From Mr. Dunſter's edition of *Paradiſe Regained*, publiſhed in 1795, a copious ſtock of judicious and elegant obſervations on that poem has been alſo here extracted. Of the numerous remarks, in manuſcript, on *Paradiſe Loſt* and on almoſt all the remaining *Engliſh Poems* of Milton, which Mr. Dunſter conſigned to the proprietors of this edition in 1805, and with the peruſal of which I have been entruſted for the purpoſe of ſelecting ſuch as I might conſider ſuitable to my plan, I muſt likewiſe ſpeak with pleaſure, as well as with encreaſed eſteem of the worthy author. In the ſelection I have made, the candid reader will acknowledge many an ingenious and ſolid remark, evincing the taſte and learning by which Mr. Dunſter has ever been diſtinguiſhed.

From modern works of critical eminence, relating to the Engliſh language and poetry, many notices have been likewiſe drawn; in particular, from the compoſitions of Lord Monboddo, Dr. Beattie, and Dr. Blair; from the late commentaries on Shakſpeare; from Mr. Headley's Select Specimens of Ancient Engliſh Poetry; from the acute obſervations of Dr. Johnſon and Mr. Hayley; and in ſhort, if I may reſpectfully adopt the language of my predeceſſour, "like the bee, I have been ſtudious of gathering ſweets wherever I could find them." The Fragment of an intended *Commentary on Paradiſe Loſt* by the poet Cowper, publiſhed by his friend Hayley, did not appear till long after the three Books, which that Commentary illuſtrates, were printed in this edition.

Contributions, however, have not been exacted, without references to the original treaſuries of the information adduced, or without the names of the authors ſubjoined. Of the notes in Dr. Newton's excellent edition of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, few have been omitted, and ſome have been ſhortened; by which method I have been enabled to introduce, without too copious a commentary, the important obſervations of criticks already enumerated, as well as of thoſe who are yet to be named. Of the notes alſo in his edition of *Paradiſe Regained*, and the remaining *Poems*, ſeveral are retained. The labours of Mr. Warton and Mr. Dunſter have rendered more perhaps unneceſſary.

I muſt now acknowledge obligations, not perhaps leſs intereſting or valuable, to manuſcript communications, beſides thoſe already mentioned of Mr. Callander, the two Wartons, and Mr. Dunſter.

To the late George Steevens, Eſq. I was indebted for the interleaved copies of *Paradiſe Loſt*, and of the *Smaller Poems* printed in 1673, with many manuſcript remarks by the late Mr. Bowle;

after whoſe deceaſe theſe volumes came into Mr. Steevens's hands; and, ſince the death of Mr. Steevens, have become my property. This ſingular kindneſs was conferred by Mr. Steevens at the commencement of this undertaking; not without a promiſe alſo of further aſſiſtance; which, unfortunately for the publick and for me, he lived not to afford.

To Joſeph Cooper Walker, Eſq. the author of the very elegant Hiſtorical Memoir on Italian Tragedy, and of other valuable publications, I have been likewiſe particularly obliged for many remarks, biographical as well as critical.

My ſincereſt thanks are alſo due to two diſtinguiſhed prelates, whoſe amiable diſpoſitions and unaſſuming abilities have met with their reward; the preſent biſhops of Ely and Hereford Dr. Dampier, on being made acquainted in 1800 by my very kind and zealous friend, Dr. Luxmoore, with this undertaking, obligingly tranſmitted to me an interleaved copy of *Paradiſe Loſt*, with numerous manuſcript notes, by that accompliſhed ſcholar, the late Benjamin Stillingfleet, Eſq. They contain not only the chief claſſical alluſions, which are found in Dr. Newton's edition; but references to, or citations of, various other paſſages ſubſervient to the illuſtration of the poem. They had been put together about the year 1745, with a view to publication; but were left unfiniſhed, from the apprehenſion that they would not make their way in oppoſition to Dr. Newton's edition, which was then announced under the patronage of Lord Bath. Theſe particulars are gathered from ſeveral important letters of Mr. Stillingfleet to Dr. Dampier's father, formerly Dean of Durham; to whom he had preſented his interleaved *Paradiſe Loſt*. From one of theſe letters, entruſted to me alſo by Dr. Dampier, I ſelected the truly Miltonick Sonnet written by Mr. Stillingfleet, which I have printed in the *Preliminary Ob-*

ſervations on the Sonnets, in the ſixth volume of this edition. It muſt be added, that the volume, containing the firſt ſix books of *Paradiſe Loſt*, was nearly printed off, when I was honoured with theſe remarks. A ſelection, therefore, of Mr. Stillingfleet's notes on thoſe books, has been given, duly acknowledged, at the cloſe of *my firſt edition*, among other additions to the preceding volumes; and, in *the preſent*, theſe notes are in their reſpective places, with Mr. Stillingfleet's name ſubjoined.

To the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury I beg to mention my reſpectful obligations alſo for the uſe of manuſcripts in their poſſeſſion, which have contributed to the purpoſes of my edition.

But my gratitude can never be ſufficiently expreſſed for the aids afforded me by the Library of the late Duke of Bridgewater. And as on a former occaſion I had to thank his Grace for permiſſion to print the manuſcript Maſk of Comus, obtained through the obliging application of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Egerton; ſo was I gratified, through the ſame literary attention, by being allowed to print, on the occaſion of my complete edition of Milton's poetry, the manuſcript Maſk of Marſton performed before the Counteſs Dowager of Derby; and to make uſe of many rare and curious books, perhaps not to be found in other collections. To this liberal condeſcenſion I owe the opportunity of having introduced to publick notice the poems of ſome forgotten Engliſh bards, as well as other pieces of our ancient literature, hitherto overpaſſed by the moſt curious inveſtigators. Nor, in recording this circumſtance, will I loſe the occaſion of thanking the preſent head of this illuſtrious houſe; both in avowing that to the Earl of Bridgewater's kindneſs in introducing me to his family I have been primarily indebted for the diſtinguiſhed favours I have ſtated, and that by his patronage I have

been benefited and honoured. The [g] invaluable collection, from which I have derived ſuch advantage, was removed in 1800 from his Grace's ſeat at Aſhridge to Cleveland Houſe, London; and at his death in 1803 became, by bequeſt, the property of his nephew, the preſent Marquis of Stafford, to whom as an ardent lover of literature, and an exquiſite judge of what is ſerviceable to its intereſts, the donation has been moſt acceptable. To the preſent age the notification of ſuch treaſures will be highly acceptable; for, among its characteriſticks, a taſte for reliſhing the ſtrains of elder days is honourably conſpicuous; to the encreaſe of which, the publication of Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of Early Engliſh Poetry* has, doubtleſs, powerfully contributed.

I have been fortunate alſo in obtaining other manuſcript ſupplies of no mean import. To my friends, the liberal friends indeed to the literature of their country, the late Iſaac Reed, Eſq. and James Bindley, Eſq. I have been obliged for many valuable ſuggeſtions, as well as for the favour of ſeveral ſcarce works in their choice and rich collections.

From the Rev. Mr. Boyd, the elegant tranſlator of Dante, I have received, juſt as this edition was cloſing at the preſs, the very intereſting *Obſervations on the Characters of the Fallen Angels of Milton.* The few communications of other gentlemen I have noticed in their reſpective places.

Having thus diſcharged my duty of grateful acknowledgement, I proceed to give the reader an account of what he is to expect further in the conduct of my edition.

[g] I call it an invaluable collection, not only as it relates to literary treaſures of the deſcription juſt noticed, but alſo as poſſeſſing numerous rarities in various departments of literature. It is not my province here to give a larger account, however agreeable to myſelf the taſk might be, of Aſhridge Library. I reſerve it, as is meet, for my *Hiſtory of the College of Aſhridge* from its foundation to its demolition.

The chief purpoſe of my notes, is, in humble imitation of Mr. Warton, to " explain the alluſions of Milton; to illuſtrate or to vindicate his beauties; to point out his imitations both of others, and of himſelf; to elucidate his obſolete diction; and, by the adduction and juxtapoſition of parallels univerſally gleaned both from his poetry and proſe, to aſcertain his favourite words, and to ſhow the peculiarities of his phraſeology." Mr. Warton juſtly adds, that, " among the Engliſh poets, thoſe readers who truſt to preceding commentators will be led to believe, that Milton imitated Spenſer and Shakſpeare only. But his ſtyle, expreſſion, and more extenſive combinations of diction, together with many of his thoughts, are alſo to be traced in other Engliſh poets, who were either contemporaries or predeceſſours, and of whom many are now not commonly known. Nor have his imitations from Spenſer and Shakſpeare been hitherto ſufficiently noticed." Of this it has been a part of my taſk, as it was of Mr. Warton, to produce proofs. The coincidencies of " Fancy's ſweeteſt children," Spenſer, Shakſpeare and Milton, are accordingly here enlarged. The obligations of our author to Dante, as well as to ſome other Italian poets, hitherto little noticed, are pointed out. The poet's imitations of himſelf are alſo conſiderably augmented. Nor have the romances and fabulous narratives, on which the poetry of Milton is often founded, been neglected. While I have not been ſparing of claſſical illuſtration, I have conſtantly kept in mind the neceſſity of attention to the literature of Milton's age. Without this attention, as Mr. Warton remarks, " the force of many ſtrikingly poetical paſſages has been weakened or unperceived, becauſe their origin was unknown, unexplored, or miſunderſtood. Coeval books, which might clear ſuch references, were therefore to be conſulted; and a new line of commentary was to be purſued. Com-

paratively, the claſſical annotator has here but little to do. Dr. Newton, an excellent ſcholar, was unacquainted with the treaſures of the Gothick library. From his more ſolid and rational ſtudies, he never deviated into this idle track of reading." But, as Milton, at leaſt in his early poems, may be reckoned an old Engliſh poet; and as in his later poetry alluſions to the ſources of fictions, with which he had been pleaſed in his youth, often appear; he generally requires that illuſtration, however trifling it may ſeem to faſtidious readers, without which no old Engliſh poet can well be illuſtrated.

The arrangement of the materials in theſe volumes has been formed with a view to uniformity, and to the accommodation of the reader. The Table of General Contents will point out the order obſerved; the accompanying diſſertations; and the appendixes ſubjoined.

Prefixed to this edition is a Verbal Index; not merely to the *Paradiſe Loſt*, as in Dr. Newton's edition, but to *All the Poems* of our illuſtrious author, and [h] applicable to any edition of theſe Poems; to the laborious completion of which (in imitation of the editors of the Dauphin Claſſicks) I have cheerfully ſubmitted for the love and veneration with which I regard the ſtrains of Milton, and for the reſpect which I owe my country in giving ſuch uſeful references to the language of its ſublimeſt bard. To the whole is alſo added a Gloſſarial Index. I think it proper to obſerve, that, in compliance with the wiſhes of ſeveral literary friends, the *Paradiſe Loſt* has been placed firſt, in the following methodical diſpoſition of the poetical works.

I have endeavoured to render the text as perſpicuous as poſſible; not only by ſeveral illuſtrations

[h] A conſiderable impreſſion of this Index, (with my Account of the Life and Writings of Milton,) has therefore been printed, in a ſeparate volume, for general accommodation.

of antiquated words, which, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, in a ſucceſſion of editions had been gradually and ſilently, yet perhaps not always properly, refined; but alſo by comparing the copies publiſhed under the immediate notice or direction of Milton, as well as moſt ſubſequent editions; more particularly thoſe of Tickell, Fenton, Bentley, and the later editors: as the notes will ſhow. Nor ſhould I here omit to mention, that Milton has not ſo uniformly contracted the words of his language, as to countenance the ſpelling of *iſle*, of *honour*, of *inferiour*, of *muſick*, and ſeveral other words, with the omiſſion of a letter in each. Milton's manuſcript at Cambridge, and his own editions of his *Poems*, as well as of his *Paradiſe Loſt*, will afford teſtimonies to this obſervation. The text of Milton muſt, indeed, exhibit ſome peculiarities. By ſuch as are here retained, the meaning cannot be embarraſſed. His love of Italian, of Chaucer, and of Spenſer, requires this notice.

To the punctuation alſo, of which Milton has been pronounced by Mr. Warton to have been habitually careleſs, great attention has been paid. I conceived it my duty likewiſe to examine the manuſcript, containing many of Milton's early poems, preſerved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and I found, on examination, ſeveral particularities which had been omitted by thoſe who had before collated the manuſcript, and which were too curious not to be noticed in my edition. To the end of the ſeveral poems, of which there are copies in the manuſcript, theſe Various Readings are annexed. The reaſon is aſſigned in the *Appendix to Paradiſe Loſt*, *No. I.*

I offered, with the utmoſt deference, in the firſt edition of theſe volumes, ſome Account of the Life and Writings of Milton; of which the materials were drawn from authentick ſources. In this biographical

attempt ſome new anecdotes, relating to the hiſtory of Milton's friends, of his works, and of his times, were interwoven. To that Account additions are now made. Theſe circumſtances may perhaps plead as ſome apology for my raſhneſs, in affecting to ſketch the poet, whom the maſterly hands of a Johnſon and an Hayley have depicted; a raſhneſs, to which I was impelled by the perſuaſion of others, that, to a new edition of his Works, it is a cuſtom to prefix the Life of the Author. To this cuſtom indeed Engliſh biography has lately been indebted for a ſpirited acquiſition; the Life of Milton, accompanying an edition of his Proſe-Works, written by the Rev. Dr. Symmons; a compoſition, which, like thoſe of Johnſon and Hayley, oppoſes to my unadorned narration a very brilliant contraſt. Cheerfully conceding the honour due to this work, I claim the liberty, however, of differing from the eloquent biographer in ſome political ſentiments, and of refuſing my aſſent to one or two of his aſſertions and literary opinions.

Such are the materials here accumulated, in order to explain the labours of Milton: of Milton, the proud boaſt of his own country, and the admiration of the world: of Milton, whoſe imitations of others are ſo generally adorned with new modes of ſentiment or phraſeology, that they loſe the nature of borrowings, and diſplay the ſkill and originality of a perfect maſter; and from whom ſucceeding poets, at various periods, have "ſtolen authentick fire."

I muſt not neglect to mention, that the proprietors have adorned this edition with a new and neat engraving of Milton from Faithorne's drawing. And I gratefully add, that it is enriched with an etching of part of Ludlow Caſtle, (in which *the Comus* of our poet was firſt performed,) from a view taken on the ſpot, which I received as a mark of friendſhip from the Marchioneſs of Stafford.

To the liberal and candid reader I commit theſe volumes with cheerfulneſs; and I truſt that I have not greatly expoſed myſelf in them either to the inſults of malicious ingenuity, or to the cavils of unforgiving bigotry. My errours, let me hope, will be overlooked in my endeavours to pleaſe and to inform; and my labour, I am ſure, is amply compenſated in the conſideration, that can ceaſe only with my exiſtence, of the delight afforded by minute attention to the poetry of Milton:

—— " While I ſit with thee, I ſeem in Heaven;
" And ſweeter thy diſcourſe is to my ear
" Than fruits of palm-tree, pleaſanteſt to thirſt
" And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
" Of ſweet repaſt; they ſatiate, and ſoon fill,
" Though pleaſant; but thy words, with grace divine
" Imbued, bring to their ſweetneſs no ſatiety."
Par. Loſt, B. viii. 210.

HENRY J. TODD.

London, April 14, 1809.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

MILTON.

JOHN MILTON, ſon of John and Sarah Milton, was born on the 9th of December [a] 1608, at the houſe of his father, who was then an eminent ſcrivener in London, and lived at the ſign of the Spread Eagle (which was the armorial enſign of the family) in Bread-ſtreet. The anceſtry of the poet was highly reſpectable. His father was educated as a gentleman, and became a [b] member of Chriſt-Church, Oxford; in which ſociety, as it may be preſumed, he imbibed his attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation, and abjured the errours of Popery; in conſequence of which, his father, who was a bigotted papiſt, diſinherited him. The ſtudent therefore choſe, for his ſupport, the profeſſion already mentioned; in the practice of which he became ſo ſucceſsful as to be enabled to give his children the advantages of a polite education, and at length to retire with comfort into the country.

[a] "The xx[th] daye of December 1608 was baptized John, the ſonne of John Mylton, ſcrivenor." *Extract from the Regiſter of Allhallows, Bread-ſtreet.*

[b] See the firſt Note on Milton's Verſes *Ad Patrem.*

The grandfather of the poet was under-ranger or keeper of the foreſt of Shotover, near Halton in Oxfordſhire; and probably reſided at the village of Milton in that neighbourhood, [c] where the family of Milton, in remoter times, were diſtinguiſhed for their opulence; till, one of them having taken the unfortunate ſide in the civil wars of York and Lancaſter, the eſtate was ſequeſtered; and the proprietor was left with nothing but what he [d] held by his wife. There is a tradition [e] that the poet had once reſided in this village, while he was Secretary to Cromwell.

The mother of Milton is ſaid by [f] Wood, from Aubrey, to have been a Bradſhaw; deſcended from a family of that name in Lancaſhire. Peck relates, that he was [g] informed ſhe was a Haughton of Haughton-tower in the ſame county. But Phillips, her grandſon, whoſe authority it is moſt reaſonable to admit, [h] affirms, in his Life of Milton, that ſhe was a Caſton, of a genteel family derived originally from

[c] In the Regiſters of Milton, as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the Rev. Mr. Jones, there are however no entries of the name of Milton. Phillips, Milton's nephew, ſays that the family reſided at Milton *near Abingdon* in *Oxfordſhire*, as appeared by the monuments then to be ſeen in Milton church. But *that Milton* is in *Berkſhire;* and Dr. Newton ſearched in vain for the monuments ſaid to exiſt in that church. The information of Wood is moſt probably correct, that they lived at Milton near Halton and Thame.

[d] Phillips's Life of Milton, 1694. p. iv.

[e] Communicated to me by letter from Milton.

[f] Faſti Ox. vol. i. p. 262, &c. chiefly taken, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, from Aubrey's manuſcript Life of Milton, preſerved in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, Oxford.

[g] Memoirs of Milton, 1740, p. 1.

[h] Life of Milton, p. v.

Wales. Milton himſelf has [i] recorded, with becoming reference to the reſpectability of his deſcent, the great eſteem in which ſhe was held for her virtues, more particularly for her charity.

His father was particularly diſtinguiſhed for his muſical abilities. He is ſaid to have been a [k] voluminous compoſer, and equal in ſcience, if not in genius, to the beſt muſicians of his age. Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Burney, in their Hiſtories of Muſick, have each ſelected a ſpecimen of his ſkill. He has been mentioned alſo by [l] Mr. Warton, as the author of *A ſixe-fold Politician. Together with a ſixe-fold precept of Policy. Lond.* 1609. But Mr. Hayley agrees with Dr. Farmer and Mr. Reed in aſſigning that work rather to John Melton, author of the *Aſtrologaſter*, than to the father of our poet. Of his attachment to literature, however, the Latin verſes of his ſon, addreſſed to him with no leſs elegance than gratitude, are an unequivocal proof. Perhaps it may again be confounding him with the author of the Aſtrologaſter, in noticing the perſon who ſigns himſelf John Melton, citizen of London, at the cloſe of a very indifferent Sonnet of fourteen lines, addreſſed to John Lane on his *Guy of Warwick*, which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, and bears the date of licence for being printed in July 1617. This John Lane is the perſon whom Milton's nephew calls [m] "a

[i] Londini ſum natus, *genere honeſto*, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatiſſimâ, et eleemoſynis per viciniam potiſſimùm notâ. *Defenſ. ſec.* vol. iii. p. 95 edit. fol. 1698.

[k] Dr. Burney's Hiſt. of Muſick, vol. iii. p. 134.

[l] See the Note on ver. 66. *Ad Patrem.*

[m] Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum, 1675. p. 111.

fine old queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within his remembrance," and of whoſe poems he gives a very flattering character. The Sonnet is entitled "*In Poeſis Laudem*," and is not worth citing. But a little poem, to which the muſick of the elder Milton's Madrigal is adapted, (whether the poetical as well as the muſical compoſition be his or not,) is given [n] below, on account of the circumſtance which occaſioned it, (that of flattering a maiden queen on the verge of ſeventy,) as a curioſity.

The care, with which Milton was educated, ſhows the [o] diſcernment of his father. The bloom of genius was fondly noticed, and wiſely encouraged. He was

[n] See the note on ver. 66. *Ad Patrem.* And Madrigales, viz. The Triumphes of Oriana, to 5 and 6 voices, compoſed by diuers ſeuerall auĉthors. Newly publiſhed by Thomas Morley, Batcheler of Muſick, &c. 4to. Lond. 1601.

For 6. Voices. Mad. XVIII.

Fayre Orian in the morne,
Before the day was borne,
With velvet ſteps on ground,
Which made nor print nor ſound,
Would ſee hir nymphs abed,
What lives thoſe ladies led:
The roſes bluſhing ſayd,
O ſtay thou ſhepherd's mayd:
And on a ſodain all
They roſe and heard hir call.
Then ſang thoſe ſhepherds and nymphs of Diana,
Long live faire Oriana!

[o] The Annual Regiſter of 1762 very erroneouſly refers to Milton's poem *Ad Patrem*, in order to ſupport the following miſtaken aſſertion: "Arioſto often lamented, as Ovid and Petrarch did before him, and *our own Milton ſince*, that *his father baniſhed him from the Muſes*." Characters, Life of Arioſto, p. 23. Milton's verſes to his father prove exactly the reverſe.

ſo happy, ſays Dr. Newton, as to ſhare the advantages both of private and publick education. He was at firſt inſtructed, by private tuition, under [p] Thomas Young, whom Aubrey calls "a puritan in Eſſex who cutt his haire ſhort;" who, having quitted his country on account of his religious opinions, became Chaplain to the Engliſh merchants at Hamburgh; but afterwards returned, and during the uſurpation of Cromwell was maſter of Jeſus College, Cambridge. Of the pupil's affection for his early tutor, his fourth elegy, and two Latin epiſtles, are publick teſtimonies. Mr. Hayley conſiders the portrait of Milton by Cornelius Janſen, drawn when he was only ten years old, *at which age* Aubrey affirms "*he was a poet*," as having been executed in order to operate as a powerful incentive to the future exertion of the infant author. This ſuppoſition is very probable: And, as the portrait was drawn by a painter [q] then riſing into fame, and whoſe price for a

[p] See the Notes at the beginning of Milton's fourth *Elegy*. If Milton imbibed from this inſtructer, as Mr. Warton ſuppoſes, the principles of puritaniſm, it may be curious to remark that he never adopted from him the outward ſymbol of the ſect. Milton preſerved his "cluſtering locks" throughout the reign of the *round-heads*. Wood, deſcribing the *Seekers* who came to preach at Oxford in 1647, affords a proper commentary on Young's *cutting his hair ſhort*. "The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in diſcourſe, lifted up, with hands lying on their breaſts. They moſtly had *ſhort hair*, which at this time was commonly called the *Committee cut*, &c." Faſti. Ox. vol. ii. p. 61.

[q] Janſen's firſt works in England are ſaid to be dated about 1618; the year, in which the young poet's portrait was drawn. See Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 149. edit. 1798.

head was five broad pieces, the mark of encouragement was rendered more handſome and more conſpicuous.

From the tuition of Mr. Young, Milton was removed to St. Paul's School, under the care of [r] Alexander Gill, who at that time was the maſter; to whoſe ſon, who was then uſher and afterwards maſter, and with whom Milton was a favourite ſcholar, are addreſſed, in friendſhip, three of the poet's Latin epiſtles. There is [s] no regiſter of admiſſions into St. Paul's School ſo far back as the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. But, as Milton's domeſtick preceptor quitted England in 1623, it is probable that he was then admitted into that ſeminary; at which time he was in his fifteenth year. He had already ſtudied with uncommon avidity; but at the ſame time with ſuch inattention to his health, ſeldom retiring from his books before midnight, that the ſource of his blindneſs may be traced to his early paſſion for letters. In his twelfth year, as [t] he tells us, this literary devotion

[r] See the firſt Note on the firſt *Elegy*.

[s] As I found, upon inquiry of the Rev. Dr. Roberts, the preſent Head-Maſter.

[t] "Pater me puerulum humaniorum literarum ſtudiis deſtinavit; quas ita avidè arripui, ut *ab anno ætatis duodecimo* vix unquam ante mediam noctam à lucubrationibus cubitum diſcederem; quæ prima oculorum pernicies fuit quorum ad naturalem debilitatem acceſſerant et crebi capitis dolores; quæ omnia cùm diſcendi impetum non retardarent, et in ludo literario, et ſub aliis domi magiſtris erudiendum quotidiè curavit." *Def. ſec.* ut ſupr. Aubrey alſo relates, that "when Milton went to ſchoole, and when he was very younge, he ſtudied very hard, and ſate up very late, commonly til twelve or one o'clock; and his father ordered the maid to ſett up for him." MS. *Aſhmol. Muſ.* ut ſupr. His early reading was in poetical books. See the Notes on the

began; from which he was not to be deterred either by the natural debility of his eyes, or by his frequent head-aches. The union of genius and application in the ſame perſon was never more conſpicuous.

In 1623 he produced his firſt poetical attempts, the *Tranſlations of the* 114*th and* 136*th Pſalms*, to which, as to ſome other juvenile productions, he has annexed the date of his age. It has been uncandidly ſuppoſed, that he intended, by this method, to obtrude the earlineſs of his own proficiency on the notice of poſterity. Dr. Johnſon calls it "a *boaſt*, of which Politian has given him an example." Milton and Politian have followed claſſical authority. Lucan [u] thus ſpeaks of himſelf:

"Eſt mihi, crede, meis animus conſtantior annis,
"Quamvis nunc juvenile decus mihi pingere malas
"Cœperit, et nondum viceſima venerit ætas."

But who will deny, that in theſe Tranſlations the dawning of real genius may be diſcerned; or that his Ode, *On the death of a fair Infant*, written ſoon after, diſplays, as a poetical compoſition, the vigour and judgement of maturer life, and affects, by its ſenſibility, the feeling mind! The verſes alſo, *At a Vacation Exerciſe in the College*, written at the age of nineteen, have been repeatedly and juſtly noticed as containing indications of the future bard,

Tranſlations of the 114th and 136th Pſalms in the ſeventh volume of this edition. Humphry Lownes, a printer, living in the ſame ſtreet with his father, ſupplied him at leaſt with Spenſer and Sylveſter's Du Bartas.

[u] Lucanus de ſeipſo, in Panegyrico ad Calpurnium Piſonem. *Epigr. & Poem. Vet.* Paris, 1590, p. 121.

" whoſe genius was equal to a ſubject that carried him beyond the limits of the world."

Few readers will be inclined to admit that Cowley and other poets have ſurpaſſed, in " products of vernal fertility," the efforts of Milton. Few will regard, without averſion, the unfair [x] compariſon of Milton's juvenile effuſions with thoſe of Chatterton. Milton, as he is the moſt learned of modern poets, may perhaps retain his princely rank alſo in the liſt of thoſe who have written valuable pieces at as early or an earlier age; and Politian, Taſſo, Cowley, Metaſtaſio, Voltaire, and Pope, may bow to him, " as to ſuperiour Spirits is due."

In the 17th year of his age, diſtinguiſhed as a claſſical ſcholar, and converſant in ſeveral languages, he was ſent, from St. Paul's School, to Cambridge; and was [y] admitted a Penſioner at Chriſt College on the 12th of February, 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Biſhop of Cork and Roſs in Ireland. Here he attracted particular notice by his academical exerciſes, as well as by ſeveral copies of verſes, both Latin and Engliſh, upon occaſional ſubjects. He neglected indeed no part of literature, although his chief object ſeems to have been the cultivation of his poetical abilities. " This good hap I had from a careful education," he ſays; " to be inured and ſeaſoned betimes with the beſt

[x] In the Biograph. Brit. vol. iv. p. 591. edit. Kippis.

[y] " Johannes Milton, Londinenſis, filius Johannis, inſtitutus fuit in Literarum elementis ſub Mag^ro. Gill, Gymnaſii Paulini Præfecto, admiſſus eſt Penſionarius Minor Feb. 12°. 1624, ſub M^ro. Chappell, ſolvitque pro Ingr. 0. 10. 8." *Extract from the College Regiſter.*

and eleganteſt authors of the learned tongues; and thereto brought an ear that could meaſure a just cadence, and ſcan without articulating; rather nice and humourous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling verſifier."

To his eminent ſkill, at this time, in the Latin tongue Dr. Johnſon affords his tribute of commendation. "Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year; by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with nice diſcernment. I once heard Mr. Hampton, the tranſlator of Polybius, remark, what I think is true, that Milton was the firſt Engliſhman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verſes with claſſick elegance." Milton's Latin exerciſes, which he recited publickly, are alſo marked with characteriſtick animation. From ſome remarkable paſſages in theſe, as Mr. Hayley obſerves, it appears "that he was firſt an object of partial ſeverity, and afterwards of general admiration, in his college. He had differed in opinion concerning a plan of academical ſtudies with ſome perſons of authority in his College, and thus excited their diſpleaſure. He ſpeaks of them as highly incenſed againſt him; but expreſſes, with the moſt liberal ſenſibility, his ſurpriſe, delight, and gratitude, in finding that his enemies forgot their animoſity to honour him with unexpected applauſe."

But incidents unfavourable to the character of Milton, while a ſtudent at Cambridge, have been poſitively aſſerted to be contained in his own words; and the poet has been ſummoned to prove his own flagellation and baniſhment in the following verſes, in his firſt elegy:

" Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura reviſere Camum,
" Nec dudum *vetiti* me *laris* angit amor.—
" Nec duri libet uſque *minas perferre* Magiſtri,
" *Cæteráque ingenio non ſubeunda meo.*"
" Si ſit hoc *exilium* patrias adiiſſe penates,
" Et vacuum curis otia grata ſequi,
" Non ego vel *profugi* nomen ſortémve recuſo,
" Lætus et *exilii* conditione fruor."

On theſe lines I muſt introduce Mr. Warton's obſervation.

" The words *vetiti laris,* and afterwards *exilium,* will not ſuffer us to determine otherwiſe, than that Milton was ſentenced to undergo a temporary removal or ruſtication from Cambridge. I will not ſuppoſe for any immoral irregularity. Dr. Bainbridge, the Maſter, is reported to have been a very active diſciplinarian: and this lover of liberty, we may preſume, was as little diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion and conformity in a college as in a ſtate. When reprimanded and admoniſhed, the pride of his temper, impatient of any ſort of reproof, naturally broke forth into expreſſions of contumely and contempt againſt his governour. Hence he was puniſhed. He is alſo ſaid to have been whipped at Cambridge. See *Life of Bathurſt,* p. 153. This has been reprobated and diſcredited, as a moſt extraordinary and improbable piece of ſeverity. But in thoſe days of ſimplicity and ſubordination, of roughneſs and rigour, this ſort of puniſhment was much more common, and conſequently by no means ſo diſgraceful and unſeemly for a young man at the univerſity, as it would be thought at preſent. We learn from Wood, that Henry Stubbe, a Student of Chriſt Church, Oxford, afterwards a partiſan of Sir Henry Vane, ' ſhewing himſelf too forward, pragmatical, and conceited,' was publickly whipped by the Cenſor in the college-hall. *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 560. See alſo *Life of Bathurſt,* p. 202. I learn from ſome manuſcript papers of Aubrey the antiquary, who was a ſtudent of Trinity college Oxford, four years from 1642, ' that at Oxford and, I believe, at Cambridge, the rod was frequently uſed by the

tutors and deans: and Dr. Potter, while a tutor of Trinity college, I knew right well, whipt his pupil with his ſword by his ſide, when he came to take his leave of him to go to the inns of court.' In the Statutes of the ſaid college, given in 1556, the Scholars of the foundation are ordered to be whipped by the Deans, or Cenſors, even to their twentieth year. In the Univerſity Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admiſſion at Cambridge, corporal puniſhment is to be inflicted on boys under ſixteen. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of fifteen [z]. The author of an old pamphlet, *Regicides no Saints nor Martyrs,* ſays that Hugh Peters, while at Trinity college, Cambridge, was publickly and officially whipped in the *Regent-walk* for his inſolence, p. 81. 8vo.

" The anecdote of Milton's whipping at Cambridge, is told by Aubrey. MS. *Muſ. Aſhm.* Oxon. Num. x. P. iii. From which, by the way, Wood's Life of Milton in the *Faſti Oxonienſes,* the firſt and the ground-work of all the lives of Milton, was compiled. Wood ſays, that he draws his account of Milton ' from his own mouth to my Friend, who was well acquainted with and had from him, and from his relations after his death, moſt of this account of his life and writings following.' *Ath. Oxon.* vol. i. Faſti, p. 262. This *Friend* is Aubrey; whom Wood, in another place, calls credulous, ' roving and magotie-headed, and ſometimes little better than craſed.' *Life of A. Wood,* p. 577. edit. Hearne, *Th. Caii Vind.* &c. vol. ii. This was after a quarrel. I know not that Aubrey is ever fantaſtical, except on the ſubjects of chemiſtry and ghoſts. Nor do I remember that his veracity was ever impeached. I believe he had much leſs credulity than Wood. Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* is a very ſolid and rational work, and its judicious conjectures and obſervations have been approved and adopted by the beſt modern antiquaries. Aubrey's manuſcript Life contains ſome anecdotes of Milton yet unpubliſhed.

[z] Mr. Warton is miſtaken in this aſſertion. Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was in his ſeventeenth year. But this will preſently be more largely conſidered.

" But let us examine if the context will admit ſome other interpretation. *Cæteraque,* the moſt indefinite and comprehenſive of deſcriptions, may be thought to mean literary taſks called impoſitions, or frequent compulſive attendances on tedious and unimproving exerciſes in a college-hall. But *cætera* follows *minas,* and *perferre* ſeems to imply ſomewhat more than theſe inconveniences, ſomething that was *ſuffered,* and ſeverely felt. It has been ſuggeſted, that his father's economy prevented his conſtant reſidence at Cambridge; and that this made the college *lar dudum vetitus,* and his abſence from the univerſity an *exilium.* But it was no unpleaſing or involuntary baniſhment. He hated the place. He was not only offended at the college-diſcipline, but had even conceived a diſlike to the face of the country, the fields about Cambridge. He peeviſhly complains, that the fields have no ſoft ſhades to attract the Muſe; and there is ſomething pointed in his exclamation, that Cambridge was a place quite incompatible with the votaries of Phœbus. Here a father's prohibition had nothing to do. He reſolves, however, to forget all theſe diſagreeable circumſtances, and to return in due time. The diſmiſſion, if any, was not to be perpetual. In theſe lines, *ingenium* is to be rendered temper, nature, diſpoſition, rather than genius.

" Aubrey ſays, from the information of our author's brother Chriſtopher, that Milton's 'firſt tutor there [at Chriſt's college] was Mr. Chappell, from whom receiving ſome unkindneſſe, (*he whipt him*) he was afterwards, though it ſeemed againſt the rules of the college, transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell[a], who dyed parſon of Lutterworth.' MS. *Muſ. Aſhm.* ut ſupr. This information, which ſtands detached from the body of Aubrey's narrative, ſeems to have been communicated to Aubrey, after Wood had ſeen his papers; it therefore does not appear in Wood, who never would otherwiſe have ſuppreſſed an anecdote which contributed in the

[a] It ſhould be Tovey. I have ſeen the ſignature of his name to ſome reſolutions of his college.

leaſt degree to expoſe the character of Milton. I muſt here obſerve, that Mr. Chappell, from his original Letters, many of which I have ſeen, written while he was a fellow and tutor of Chriſt's College, and while Milton was there, and which are now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Moreton of Weſterham in Kent, by whom they have been politely communicated, appears to have been a man of uncommon mildneſs and liberality of manners."

To the authority of the preceding remarks Dr. Johnſon has implicitly ſubſcribed; not without adding, however, that it may be conjectured, from the willingneſs with which the poet has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cauſe was ſuch as gave him no ſhame.

That flagellation might be performed upon offenders at Cambridge, (as well as at Oxford,) the Statutes of that univerſity will ſhow: That Milton ſuffered this publick indignity, reſts ſolely upon the teſtimony of Aubrey, which I am unable to controvert: But it is remarkable that it never ſhould have been noticed by thoſe who would have rejoiced in ſuch an opportunity of expoſing Milton to a little ridicule. Yet further. It is related by Mr. Warton, that, "in the Univerſity Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admiſſion at Cambridge, corporal puniſhment is to be inflicted on boys *under ſixteen*. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy *of fifteen*." This is a miſtake. Milton was in his *ſeventeenth*[b] *year*, when he was admitted at Chriſt's College. And if the ſame exemption was granted

[b] See the Extract from the College Regiſter, p. 8.

to boys *of ſixteen* at Cambridge, as to thoſe of the ſame age at Oxford, the flagellation of Milton becomes ſtill leſs entitled to credit. One of the ſtatutes of Chriſt's College, entitled Cap. 37. *De Lectoris Authoritate in Diſcipulos*, ſeems to countenance the ſuppoſition of ſimilar exemption: After preſcribing that they, who abſent themſelves from certain Lectures, ſhall be *fined*, the Statute ſubjoins the following reſervation; "*ſi tamen adultus fuerit; alioquin, virgâ corrigatur.*"

The application alſo of *cætera* may be perhaps more *general* than Mr. Warton and Dr. Johnſon have been pleaſed to conſider it; inſtead of corporal puniſhment, it may ſuggeſt the idea of academical reſtrictions, to which a youth of Milton's genius could not ſubmit; or merely of threats perhaps, which he thought he did not deſerve; and, if he therefore acquieſced in a ſhort exile from Cambridge, as ſome biographers ſuppoſe, it ſhould ſeem that, by his admiſſion to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1628, he had incurred no loſs of terms; which, ruſtication however muſt have occaſioned, and which the Regiſter of his College, or of the Univerſity, would probably have noticed. His reply to an enemy, who in the violence of controverſy had aſſerted that he was expelled, may here be cited. [c] "I muſt be thought if this libeller (for now he ſhews himſelf to be ſo) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth *ſpent at the Univerſity*, to have been at length *vomited out thence*. For which *commodious*

[c] Apology for Smectymnuus. Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 174. edit. 1698.

lye, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occaſion to acknowledge publickly, with all gratefull mind, that *more than ordinary favour and reſpect which I found above any of my equals* at the hands of thoſe courteous and learned men, the fellows of the College wherein I ſpent ſome years; who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, ſignified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would ſtay; as by many letters, full of kindneſs and loving reſpect, both before that time, and long after, I was aſſured of their ſingular good affection towards me." And ſtill more pointedly in another place: [d] " Pater me——*Cantabrigiam* miſit: *Illic* diſciplinis atque artibus tradi ſolitis ſeptennium ſtudui; *procul omni flagitio,* bonis omnibus probatus, uſquedum magiſtri, quem vocant, gradum, &c."

To oblige one of the fellows, his friends ſo affectionately noticed, he wrote, in 1628, the comitial verſes, entitled *Naturam non pati ſenium.* I mention this in order to obviate a remark made by Dr. Johnſon, that the poet countenanced an opinion, prevalent in his time, " that the world was in its decay, and that we had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of nature." In the preceding year the following very learned work had been publiſhed, " An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, by George Hakewill, D. D. and Archdeacon of Surrey, 1627." The young poet, I

[d] Defenſ. ſec. Proſe-Works, vol. iii. p. 95. edit. 1698.

conceive, had been much pleaſed with this excellent work, which refutes, with particular felicity of argument, the abſurdity of ſuppoſing nature impaired. This forgotten folio has found an able advocate in modern days. "They," ſays Dr. Warton, [e] "whom envy, malevolence, diſcontent, or diſappointment, have induced to think that the world is totally degenerated, and that it is daily growing worſe and worſe, would do well to read a ſenſible, but too much neglected, treatiſe of an old Divine, written in [f] 1630, Hakewill's Apology &c." This work was commended by Archbiſhop [g] Uſher. A truly amiable and learned author, it may here be added, to whom the literature of this country is peculiarly indebted, has cloſed his *Philological Inquiries* with a chapter, well calculated, like the animated lines of Milton, to baniſh the timid and unbenevolent idea of nature's decrepitude.

Milton was deſigned by his parents, and once in his own reſolutions, for the Church. But his ſubſequent unwillingneſs to engage in the office of a miniſter was communicated to a friend in a letter; (of which two draughts exiſt in [h] manuſcript;) with which he ſent his impreſſive Sonnet, *On his being arrived at the age of twenty three.* The truth is,

[e] Pope's Works, edit. 1797. vol. iv. p. 319.

[f] This is the *ſecond* edition of the work, which Dr. Warton ſeems not to have known.

[g] See a Letter from Dr. Hakewill to Archbiſhop Uſher, in the Life and Letters of Uſher by R. Parr, D.D. fol. 1686. *Letters*, p. 398.

[h] See Birch's Life of Milton, Dr. Newton's edit. of Milton, Sonnet vii. General Dictionary, 1738, vol. vii. And Biograph. Brit. 1760, vol. v. Art. *Milton*, where they are printed.

ſays Dr. Newton, he had conceived early prejudices againſt the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church. This, no doubt, was a diſappointment to his friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumſtances. Nor does he ſeem to have been diſpoſed to any profeſſion. It is certain that he alſo declined the [i] Law. He had probably read, with no ſlight attention, the conduct of Taſſo, as deſcribed by the noble biographer to whom he has addreſſed his admired eclogue:

" [k] Il qual poema [il Rinaldo] mandò egli fuori per voler del Cardinal Luigi da Eſte; e con poco piacer di ſuo padre; il quale non haurebbe ciò per due ragioni deſiderato. Primieramente percioche Bernardo non rimaneua appagato, che l'animo del giouanetto s'appigliaſſe alla piaceuolezza della poeſia, perche non deuiaſſe (come aduienne) dallo ſtudio delle leggi dal qual' egli ſperaua maggiori comodi con l'eſſempio in contrario di ſe medeſimo, che per molto, e per bene c' haueſſe, & in verſi, & in proſa ſaputo ſcriuere, non potette giammai però auanzare la mezzanità della ſua fortuna ne difenderſi dalla rea: nella qual coſa malageuolmente Torquato l'obediua, tirato altroue dal proprio genio, come ne' verſi che ſeguono dietro a que' che detti habbiamo, ſi legge:

> Ad altri ſtudi, onde poi ſpeme hauea
> Di riſtorar d'auuerſa ſorte i danni,

[i] His contempt of the Law, as well as of the Church, is pretty ſtrongly marked. See the Note *Ad Patrem*, ver. 71. To the eccleſiaſtical lawyers he has ſhown no mercy; but alludes to " chancellours and ſuffragans, delegates and officials, with all the *hell-peſtering* rabble of ſumners and apparitors," in the very ſpirit of Quevedo. See his *Animadverſions*, &c. Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 159. edit. 1698.

[k] Vita di Torq. Taſſo, ſcritta da G. B. Manſo, 12mo Venet. 1621, p. 32, 33.

Ingrati ſtudi, dal cui pondo oppreſſo,
Giaccio ignoto ad altrui graue à me ſteſſo."
Rinaldo, Canto 12. ſt. 90.

Dr. Newton thinks that he had too free a ſpirit to be limited and confined; that he was for comprehending all ſciences, but profeſſing none. His conduct, however, on theſe occaſions is a proof of the ſincerity with which he had reſolved to deliver his ſentiments. [l] "For me, I have determined to lay up as the beſt treaſure and ſolace of a good old age, if God vouchſafe it me, the honeſt liberty of free ſpeech from my youth."

Having taken the degree of [m] M. A. in 1632, he left the univerſity, and retired to his father's houſe in the country; who had now quitted buſineſs, and lived at an eſtate which he had purchaſed at Horton near Colnebrooke, in Buckinghamſhire. Here he reſided five years; in which time he not only, as he himſelf informs us, read over the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the hiſtorians, but is alſo believed to have written his *Arcades*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penſeroſo*, and *Lycidas*. The pleaſant retreat in the country excited his moſt poetick feelings; and he has proved himſelf able, in his pictures of rural life, to rival the works of Nature which he contemplated with delight. In the neighbourhood of Horton the Counteſs Dowager of Derby reſided: and the *Arcades* was performed by her grand-children at this ſeat, called Harefield-place. It ſeems to me, that

[l] Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 220. edit. 1698.

[m] He was admitted to the ſame degree at Oxford in 1635. See Wood. Faſti, vol. i. p. 262.

Milton intended a compliment to his fair neighbour, (for [n] fair ſhe was,) in his *L'Allegro:*

> " Towers and battlements it ſees
> " Boſom'd high in tufted trees,
> " Where perhaps ſome Beauty lies,
> " The Cynoſure of neighbouring eyes."

The woody ſcenery of [o] Harefield, and the perſonal accompliſhments of the Counteſs, are not unfavourable to this ſuppoſition; which, if admitted, tends to confirm the opinion, that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo* were compoſed at Horton.

The Maſk of *Comus*, and *Lycidas*, were certainly produced under the roof of his father. It may be obſerved that, after his retirement to private ſtudy, he paid great attention, like his maſter Spenſer, to the Italian ſchool of poetry. Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that his acquaintance with the Italian writers may be diſcovered by the mixture of longer and ſhorter verſes in *Lycidas*, according to the rules of Tuſcan poetry." In *Comus* alſo the ſweet rhythm and cadence of the Italian language are no leſs obſervable. I muſt here obſerve that the houſe, in which Milton drew ſuch enchanting ſcenes, was about [p] ten years ſince pulled down; and that, during his reſidence at Horton, he had occaſionally taken lodgings in London, in order to cultivate muſick and mathematicks, to meet his friends from Cambridge, and to indulge his paſſion for books.

[n] See the preliminary Notes to *Arcades*, and alſo the poem, ver. 14, &c.

[o] See Lyſons's Middleſex, 1800. *Harefield*, p. 108.

[p] As I have been obligingly informed by letter from the preſent Rector of Horton.

It ſeems to have been the notion, however, of the late Sir William Jones, that we are indebted, not to Horton, but to Foreſt Hill, for Milton's deſcriptive pictures of the country. That accompliſhed ſcholar has thus delivered his opinion in a letter to Lady Spencer, dated from Oxford, 7. Sept. 1769.

" [9] The neceſſary trouble of correcting the firſt printed ſheets of my hiſtory, prevented me to-day from paying a proper reſpect to the memory of Shakſpeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was reſolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet; and ſet out in the morning in company with a friend to viſit a place, where Milton ſpent ſome part of his life, *and where, in all probability, he compoſed ſeveral of his earlieſt productions.* It is a ſmall village on a pleaſant hill, about three miles from Oxford, called Foreſt Hill, becauſe it formerly lay contiguous to a foreſt, which has ſince been cut down. The poet choſe this place of retirement after his firſt marriage, and he deſcribes the beauties of his retreat, in that fine paſſage of his L'Allegro:

Sometime walking, not unſeen,
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,—
While the plowman near at hand,
Whiſtles o'er the furrow'd land,
And the milk-maid ſingeth blithe,
And the mower whets his ſithe.
And every ſhepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.
Straight mine eye hath caught new pleaſures
Whilſt the landſkip round it meaſures;
Ruſſet lawns, and fallows gray,
Where the nibbling flocks do ſtray;
Mountains, on whoſe barren breaſt
The labouring clouds do often reſt;

[9] Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones, 8vo. edit. p. 83.

Meadows trim with daiſies pide,
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide:
Towers and battlements it ſees
Boſom'd high in tufted trees—
Hard by, a cottage chimney ſmoaks,
From betwixt two aged oaks, &c.

"It was neither the proper ſeaſon of the year, nor time of the day, to hear all the rural ſounds, and ſee all the objects mentioned in this deſcription; but, by a pleaſing concurrence of circumſtances, we were ſaluted, on our approach to the village, with the muſic of the mower and his ſcythe; we ſaw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milkmaid returning from her country employment.

"As we aſcended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable ſtillneſs and natural ſimplicity of the whole ſcene, gave us the higheſt pleaſure. We at length reached the ſpot, *whence Milton undoubtedly took moſt of his images*; it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a moſt extenſive proſpect on all ſides: the diſtant mountains that ſeemed to ſupport the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly ſhaded with trees of the fineſt verdure, and partly raiſed above the groves that ſurrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyiſh colour, where the ſheep were feeding at large, in ſhort, the view of the ſtreams and rivers, convinced us that there was not a ſingle uſeleſs or idle word in the above-mentioned deſcription, but that it was a moſt exact and lively repreſentation of nature. Thus will this fine paſſage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactneſs. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthuſiaſm, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

"The poet's houſe was cloſe to the church; the greateſt part of it has been pulled down; and what remains, belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that ſeveral papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was laſt in poſſeſſion of the eſtate. The tradition of his having live there is current among the villagers: one of them

ſhewed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleaſed with another who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

" It muſt not be omitted, that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are ſo elegantly deſcribed in the Penſeroſo. Moſt of the cottage windows are overgrown with ſweet-briars, vines, and honey-ſuckles; and, that Milton's habitation had the ſame ruſtick ornament, we may conclude from his deſcription of the lark bidding him good-morrow,

Through the ſweet-briar or the vine,
Or the twiſted eglantine:

for it is evident, that he meant a ſort of honey-ſuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly uſed for the ſweet-briar, which he could not mention twice in the ſame couplet.

" If ever I paſs a month or ſix weeks at Oxford in the ſummer, I ſhall be inclined to hire and repair this venerable manſion, and to make a feſtival for a circle of friends, in honour of Milton, the moſt perfect ſcholar, as well as the ſublimeſt poet, that our country ever produced. Such an honour will be leſs ſplendid, but more ſincere and reſpectful, than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon.

" I have the honour, &c."

That Milton reſided at Foreſt Hill, I am ready to admit; but at periods, I conceive, far diſtant from the compoſition of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo*. The tradition that he did reſide at this beautiful and beautifully deſcribed village, is indeed [r] general;

[r] Madame du Bocage, in her entertaining *Letters concerning England*, &c. relates that, viſiting, in June 1750, Baron Schutz and Lady at their houſe near Shotover Hill, " they ſhewed me from a ſmall eminence *Milton's houſe*, to which I bowed with all the reverence with which that poet's memory inſpires me."

though none of his biographers aſſert the circumſtance. But Sir William Jones repreſents him to have choſen this place of retirement, *after his firſt marriage*. Now Milton, we find, was not married before 1643, at which time he was in his thirty-fifth year; when, about Whitſuntide or a little after, "he [s] took a journey," ſays his nephew Phillips, "into the country; nobody about him certainly knowing the reaſon, or that it was more than a journey of recreation: after a month's ſtay, home he returns a married man that went out a batchelor; his wife being Mary, the eldeſt daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, then a juſtice of peace, of *Foreſthil*, near Shotover, in Oxfordſhire." Anthony Wood relates alſo, that Milton courted, married, and brought his wife to his houſe in London, *in one month's time*; and that ſhe was very young. She continued, however, but a few weeks with her huſband, and returned to Foreſt Hill. Milton, as we ſhall preſently ſee, diſdained to follow her thither. But, after their reconciliation, it is probable that they were allowed by her father, who, I am [t] informed, poſſeſſed another manſion in the neighbourhood, the occaſional occupation of this retreat. Or, after the ſeizure of it by the rebels in 1646, Milton, we may eaſily believe, poſſeſſed ſufficient intereſt to obtain the reſtitution of it to his father-in-law, (whoſe affairs he is indeed ſaid [u] to have accommodated with the ruling party, and who is ſuppoſed to have quitted in 1647 the protection which Milton's houſe afforded him in London,) from whom he might ſubſequently receive a

[s] Life of Milton, p. xxii.

[t] By T. B. Richards, Eſq. whoſe intelligence is preſently given.

[u] See Fenton's narration in a ſubſequent page.

grant of it. However, this concedes nothing to the aſſertion of *L'Allegro* being compoſed at Foreſt Hill. No. The early poems of Milton were written, I apprehend, long before the date of his firſt marriage; and, as I have [x] already ſtated, moſt probably at Horton; a point in which Mr. Hayley concurs with me, at leaſt in reſpect to *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo*. In the collection of theſe poems into a volume, which was publiſhed by Moſeley in 1645, and of which more will preſently be ſaid, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo* precede both *Lycidas* and *Comus* in the arrangement; both of which refer to matters of a much earlier date than 1640. But, not to inſiſt on this circumſtance, Moſeley in his Addreſs to the Reader, ſays, "[y] The author's more peculiar excellency in theſe ſtudies was too well known *to conceal his papers*, or to keep me from *attempting to ſollicit them from him*." So that Milton, we ſee, had concealed theſe papers, till he was *ſolicited* to permit them, with *Lycidas* and *Comus* already printed, to appear in one volume. I muſt obſerve alſo that Milton tells his friend Rouſe, in preſenting to him this collection of his poems, that they were the productions of his [z] early youth.

Milton, however, might compoſe at Foreſt Hill part of his *later productions*. Mr. Warton has aſſerted

[x] See before, pp. 18, 19, and my Preliminary Notes to L'Allegro and Il Penſeroſo.

[y] Milton's Poems, ed. 1645, 12mo ſign. a. 4.

[z] "Gemelle cultu ſimplici gaudens liber,
"Fronde licet geminâ,
"Munditieque nitens non operoſâ;
"Quem *manus attulit*
"*Juvenilis olim*,
"Sedula tamen haud nimii poetæ, &c."

that he did. I mention this on the authority of a [a] gentleman, whoſe information indeed will highly intereſt our curioſity, but at the ſame time excite our ſorrow.

" Milton married a daughter of Juſtice Powell, (of Sandford in the vicinity of Oxford,) and lived in a houſe at Foreſt Hill, about three miles from Sandford; where, the late laureate Warton told me, Milton wrote a great part of his *Paradiſe Loſt*. Warton found a number of papers of Milton's own writing in that houſe, and alſo many of Juſtice [b] Powell's; which the late Mr. Crewe (father to the late Viſcounteſs Falmouth) permitted him to take, and make what uſe of them he thought proper. The late Mr. Mickle tranſlated part of Camoens's Luſiad in the ſame houſe, he being at the time I viſited him a lodger in that houſe. Mr. Mickle married the daughter of Mr. Tomkins a farmer, the tenant to Mr. Crewe. The time I allude to of viſiting my worthy friend Mickle was in 1772 and 1773. And my converſations, had with Mr. Warton and Mr. Crewe, were from 1781 to 1786."

Our ſorrow cannot but be excited, when it is added that of Milton's papers no regular account appears to have been taken, and no deſcription has been given. The [c] biographers of Warton and Mickle will be conſulted in vain on this ſubject.

A pretended romantick circumſtance in Milton's younger days has been publickly mentioned, which has been ſuppoſed to have formed the firſt impulſe of his Italian journey. In the General Evening Poſt

[a] Thomas B. Richards, Eſq. One of the Sub-Commiſſioners under the preſent Record Commiſſion for England.

[b] See Mr. Warton's Notes on the Nuncupative Will of Milton, ſubjoined to this account of the Life and Writings of the poet.

[c] The Rev. R. Mant's Life of T. Warton, and the Rev. J. Sim's Life of W. J. Mickle, prefixed to the Poetical Works of thoſe authors.

in the Spring of 1789 it is ſuppoſed to have appeared; in which, or in any other journal, however, I had not been ſo fortunate, before the firſt edition of this account was publiſhed, as to diſcover it. The anecdote has ſince been obligingly tranſmitted to me, exactly as it appeared in a News-paper, (the Italian citation only being here corrected,) of which the date does not appear; and for which I am indebted, through my friend Mr. Bindley, to M. Whiſh, Eſq.

"Believing that the following real circumſtance has been but little noticed, we ſubmit the particulars of it, as not uninterefting, to the attention of our readers:—It is well known that, in the bloom of youth, and when he purſued his ſtudies at Cambridge, this poet was extremely beautiful. Wandering, one day, during the ſummer, far beyond the precincts of the Univerſity, into the country, he became ſo heated and fatigued, that, reclining himſelf at the foot of a tree to reſt, he ſhortly fell aſleep. Before he awoke, two ladies, who were foreigners, paſſed by in a carriage. Agreeably aſtoniſhed at the lovelineſs of his appearance, they alighted, and having admired him (as they thought) unperceived, for ſome time, the youngeſt, who was very handſome, drew a pencil from her pocket, and having written ſome lines upon a piece of paper, put it with her trembling hand into his own. Immediately afterwards they proceeded on their journey. Some of his acquaintances, who were in ſearch of him, had obſerved this ſilent adventure, but at too great a diſtance to diſcover that the highly-favoured party in it was our illuſtrious bard. Approaching nearer, they ſaw their friend, to whom, being awakened, they mentioned what had happened. Milton opened the paper, and, with ſurprize, read theſe verſes from Guarini: [Madrigal. xii. ed. 1598.]

"*Occhi, ſtelle mortali,*
"*Miniſtre de miei mali,*
"*Se chiuſi m' uccidete,*
"*Aperti che farete?*

"Ye eyes! ye human ſtars! ye authors of my livelieſt pangs! If thus, when ſhut, ye wound me, what muſt have proved the conſequence had ye been open?" Eager, from this moment, to find out the fair *incognita*, Milton travelled, but in vain, through every part of Italy. His poetick fervour became inceſſantly more and more heated by the idea which he had formed of his unknown admirer; and it is, in ſome degree, to *her* that his own times, the preſent times, and the lateſt poſterity muſt feel themſelves indebted for ſeveral of the moſt impaſſioned and charming compoſitions of the Paradiſe Loſt."

The preceding highly coloured relation, however, is not ſingular. My friend Mr. Walker points out to me a counterpart in the following Extract from the Preface to Poéſies de Marguerite-Eleanore Clotilde, depuis Madame de Surville, Poëte Francois du XV. Siecle. Paris, 1803.

"Juſtine de Lévis ſe promenoit dans une forêt avec deux de ſes parentes; elles apperçurent un jeune chevalier endormi. Sa beauté frappe les trois jeunes amies; Juſtine ſurtout en reçut une impreſſion qui ne s'effaça jamais. Elle ne put s'empêcher de dépoſe ſes tallettes auprès du bel inconnu, aprés y avoir écrit *quatre vers Italiens* qui fermoient une eſpece de déclaration: elle s'éloigna enſuite avec ſes compagnes. On peut juger de l'etonnement du chevalier lorqu' à ſon réveil il trouva ces tablettes et lut ce qu'elles contenoient. Louis de Puytendre (c'etoit ſon nom:) ne s'occupa plus que de la recherche de l'inconnue: il parcourut inutilement l'Italie entire; il eut diverſes aventures, &c."

Though credence will hardly be granted to the anecdote reſpecting Milton, obligation is due to him who publiſhed it; inaſmuch as the publication occaſioned it to be clothed in the following elegant dreſs:

In ſultry noon when youthful MILTON lay
Supinely ſtretch'd beneath the poplar ſhade,
Lur'd by his Form, a fair Italian Maid
Steals from her loitering chariot to ſurvey

The ſlumbering charms, that all her ſoul betray.
Then, as coy fears th' admiring gaze upbraid,
Starts;—and theſe lines, with hurried pen pourtray'd,
Slides in his half-cloſ'd hand;—and ſpeeds away.—
Ye eyes, ye human ſtars!—if, thus conceal'd
By ſleep's ſoft veil, ye agitate my heart,
Ah! what had been its conflict if reveal'd
Your rays had ſhone!—Bright Nymph, thy ſtrains impart
Hopes, that impel the graceful Bard to rove,
Seeking through Tuſcan Vales his viſionary Love.
He found her not;—yet much the Poet found,
To ſwell imagination's golden ſtore,
On Arno's bank, and on that bloomy ſhore,
Warbling Parthenope; in the wide bound,
Where Rome's forlorn Campania ſtretches round
Her ruin'd towers and temples;—claſſick lore
Breathing ſublimer ſpirit from the power
Of local conſciouſneſs—Thrice happy wound.
Given by his ſleeping graces, as the Fair,
Hung over them enamour'd, the deſire
Thy fond reſult inſpir'd, that wing'd him there,
Where breath'd each Roman and each Tuſcan lyre,
Might haply fan the emulative flame,
That roſe o'er DANTE's ſong, and rivall'd MARO's fame!

Original Sonnets, &c. by Anna Seward, 1799, p. 76.

On the death of his mother in 1637, he prevailed with his father to permit him to viſit the continent. This permiſſion Mr. Hayley ſuppoſes to have been "the more readily granted, as one of his motives for viſiting Italy was to form a collection of Italian muſick." His nephew Phillips indeed relates, that, while at Venice, he ſhipped a parcel of curious and rare books which he had collected in his travels; particularly a cheſt or two of choice muſick-books of the beſt maſters flouriſhing about that time in Italy. Having obtained ſome directions for his travels from

Sir Henry Wotton, to whom he had communicated his [d] earneſt deſire of ſeeing foreign countries, he went in 1638, attended with a ſingle ſervant, to Paris; where, by the favour of Lord Scudamore, he was introduced to Grotius. Of this interview, although the numerous letters of Grotius afford no trace, Milton's nephew gives the following account; Grotius took the viſit kindly, and gave him entertainment ſuitable to his worth and the high commendations he had heard of him.

Having been preſented, by Lord Scudamore, with letters of recommendation to the Engliſh merchants in the ſeveral places through which he intended to travel, he went, after ſtaying a few days in Paris, directly to Nice, where he embarked for Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Leghorn, Piſa, and Florence. The delights of Florence detained him there two months. His compoſitions and converſation were ſo much admired, that he was a moſt welcome gueſt in the academies, (as in Italy the meetings of the moſt polite and ingenious perſons are denominated,) held in that city. He has affectionately recorded the [e] names of theſe Italian friends;

[d] See Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to him, and the Notes prefixed to *Comus* in this edition.

[e] "Tui enim Jacobe Gaddi, Carole Dati, Freſcobalde, Cultelline, Bommatthæe, Clementille, Francine, aliorumque plurium memoriam apud me ſemper gratam, atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit." Defenſ. ſec. Proſe-Works, vol. iii. p. 96. edit. 1698. It is to one of theſe friends that he profeſſes his love of the Italian language. "Ego certè iſtis utriſque linguis [Greek and Latin] non extremis tantummodò labris madidus; ſed, ſiquis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, poſſum tamen nonnunquam ad illum *Dantem*, et *Petrarcam*, *alioſque*

and has expreſſed his obligations to their honourable diſtinctions. Dati [f] preſented him with a Latin eulogy; and Francini with an Italian ode. A few years ſince, Mr. Brand accidentally diſcovered on a book-ſtall, a manuſcript which he purchaſed, entitled *La Tina*, by Antonio Malateſti, not yet enumerated, ſays [g] Mr. Warton, among Milton's friends. It is dedicated by the author to John Milton while at Florence. Mr. Brand gave it to Mr. Hollis, who, in 1758, ſent it together with Milton's works, both in poetry and proſe, and his Life by Toland, to the Academy Della Cruſca. The manuſcript, as Mr. Warton obſerves, would have been a greater curioſity in England. Milton became acquainted alſo with the celebrated Galileo, whom many biographers have repreſented as in priſon when the poet viſited him. But Mr. Walker has informed me that Galileo was never a priſoner *in* the inquiſition at Florence, although a priſoner *of* it. On his arrival at Rome on February the 10th, 1632, that illuſtrious philoſopher had ſurrendered himſelf to Urban, who ordered him to be confined for his philoſophical hereſy in the

veſtros compluſculos, libentèr et cupidè comeſſatum ire." Epiſt. *B. Bommatthæo*. Proſe-Works, vol. iii. p. 325. ed. 1698.

[f] Rolli has made the following remark on the commendatory notices of his countrymen. "Oſſervitſi nelle lodi dagl' Italiani date a queſto grand Uomo; com' eſſi fin d' allora ſcorgevano in lui l' alta forza d' Ingegno che lo portava al primo Auge di gloria letteraria nel ſuo Secolo e nella ſua Nazione; e gliene facevano gli avverati Prognoſtici." Vita di Milton, 1735. Dennis pays much compliment to the diſcernment of the Italians who diſcovered, while Milton was among them, his great and growing genius. See his Original Letters, &c. 1721, vol. i. p. 78, 80.

[g] Milton's Smaller Poems, 2d edit. p. 555. But Milton mentions this friend in a letter to Carlo Dati, *Epiſt. Fam.* x.

palace of the Trinità de' Monti. Here he remained five months. Having retracted his opinion, he was diſmiſſed from Rome; and the houſe of Monſignor Piccolomini in Sienna was aſſigned to him as his priſon. About the beginning of December, in 1633, he was liberated; and returned to the village of Belloguardo near Florence, whence he went to Arcetri, where, it is probable, he received the viſit of the Engliſh bard. Milton himſelf has informed us that he had really ſeen Galileo; and Rolli, in his Life of the poet, [h] conſiders ſome ideas in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, approaching towards the Newtonian philoſophy, to have been caught at Florence from Galileo or his diſciples.

From Florence he paſſed through Sienna to Rome, where he alſo ſtayed two months; feaſting, as Dr. Newton well obſerves, both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and ſculptures, and other rarities and antiquities, of the city. It has been judiciouſly conjectured, that ſeveral of the immortal works of the fineſt painters and ſtatuaries may be traced in Milton's poetry. They are ſuppoſed by Mr. Hayley to have had conſiderable influence in attaching his imagination to our firſt parents. "He had moſt probably contemplated them," the elegant writer continues, "not only in the colours of Michael Angelo, who decorated Rome with his picture of the creation, but in the marble of Bandinelli, who had executed two large ſtatues of Adam and Eve, which, though they were far from ſatisfying the taſte of con-

[h] "In Firenze certamente egli appreſe dagli Scritti e dalle Maſſime del Galileo invalorite già ne' di lui Seguaci, quelle Nozioni filoſofiche ſparſe poi nel Poema, che tanto ſi uniformano al Siſtema del Cavalier Newton." Vita, &c. 1735.

noiſſeurs, might ſtimulate even by their imperfections the genius of a poet." The deſcription of the creation in the third book of *Paradiſe Loſt*, (ver. 708, 719,) is ſuppoſed by [i] Mr. Walker to be copied from the ſame ſubject as treated by Raphael in the gallery of the Vatican, called " la Bibbia di Raffaello." There are indeed ſeveral intereſting pictures relating to Adam and Eve in the Florence collection, together with " the fall of Lucifer" ſuppoſed to be the work of Michael Angelo, which Milton might have alſo ſeen. Mr. Dunſter ingeniouſly [k] conjectures the *Paradiſe Regained* to have been enriched by the ſuggeſtions of Salvator Roſa's maſterly painting of *The Temptation*. The genius of Milton ſeems indeed to have reſembled more particularly that of Michael Angelo. It is worthy of notice, as it ſhows a ſtrong coincidence of taſte in the poet and the painter, that Michael Angelo was particularly ſtruck with Dante; and that he is ſaid to have [l] ſketched with a pen, on the margin of his copy of the *Inferno*, every ſtriking ſcene of the terrible and the pathetick; but this valuable curioſity was unfortunately loſt in a ſhipwreck. The learned author of " Tableaux tirés de l' Iliade, de l' Odyſsée d' Homere, et de l' Eneide de Virgile," was never more miſtaken than in ſuppoſing the *Paradiſe Loſt* incapable of ſupplying an artiſt with ſcenes as graceful and ſublime as can be met with in the poems of the Grecian and Roman bards: for, in the words of Mr. Hayley, there is no charm exhibited by painting, which Milton's poetry has failed to equal,

[i] Hiſt. Mem. on Italian Tragedy, p. 166.

[k] Addition to his edit. of *Par. Reg.* 1800.

[l] See " A Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch, 1790." p. 81.

as far as analogy between the different arts can extend. Indeed the numerous exercifes for the painter's fkill, which Milton's works afford, have, in later times, commanded due attention; and Fufeli, by his happy fketches from fuch originals, has taught us how to admire poetry and painting "breathing *united force.*"

At Rome Milton was honoured with the acquaintance of feveral learned men, more efpecially with that of Holftenius, keeper of the Vatican library. By him he was introduced to Cardinal Barberini, the [m] patron Cardinal of the Engliſh; who, at an [n] entertainment of muſick, performed at his own ex-

[m] I learn from the manuſcript of Dr. Bargrave, (preſerved in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral,) of which an ample account is given in my Note on Milton's Epigram to Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, that, "at Rome, euery forraigne Nation hath ſome Cardinall or other to be their *peculiar Gardian:* when I was 4 feuerall times at Rome," ſays Dr. Bargrave, "this Cardinall Barberini was *Gardian to the Engliſh.*" He adds, "When I was at Rome with the Earle of Cheſterfield, then under my tuition, 1650, at a yeare of Jubile, this Cardinall (formerly kinde to me) would not admitt my lord or myſelfe to any audience, though, in eleuen months time, tryed feuerall times: and I heard that it was, becauſe that we had recommendatory letters from our Queen Mother to Cardinall Capponius, and another from the Dutcheſs of Sauoy to Cardinall Penzirolo; and no letters to him, *who was the Engliſh* (*I ſay* REBELLS) *Protector;* and that we viſited them before him."

[n] See the notes on Milton's poem, *Ad Leonoram Romæ canentem;* in the firſt of which, it is related by Mr. Warton that Milton heard the accompliſhed Leonora Baroni ſing at the concerts of this Cardinal, and that there is a volume of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spaniſh poems, printed *at Rome*, in praiſe of this lady. I have ſought in vain for this curious volume; as have two or three literary friends, both abroad and at home. I muſt obſerve however that this book is deſcribed, in the Barberini collection, as printed *at Bracciano.* Index Bib. Barberin. fol. 1681. tom. i. p. 114.

pence, waited for him at the door, and condeſcended to lead him into the aſſembly. Milton did not forget the extraordinary civilities of this accompliſhed Cardinal. In thanking Holſtenius afterwards for all his favours to him, he adds [o] " De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, ſi [p] *Eminentiſſimum* Cardinalem quantâ poteſt obſervantiâ meo nomine ſalutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique ſtudium, ad provehendas item omnes artes liberales egregiè comparatum, ſemper mihi ob oculos verſatur." At Rome alſo, Selvaggi and Salſilli praiſed the attainments of Milton in thoſe verſes, which are prefixed to his Latin poetry.

He next removed to Naples, in company with a hermit; to whom Milton owed his introduction to

[o] Lit. Lucæ Holſtenio, dat. Florent. Mart. 30. 1639, Proſe-Works, vol. iii. p. 327. edit. 1698.

[p] Milton, it may be obſerved, is careful not to omit the *title* firſt applied to the Cardinals by Barberini: ſince whoſe time, Dr. Bargrave relates, " the title of Padrone continueth to the Pope's chiefe Nephew, and the title of *Eminenza* to all the Cardinalls. Indeed the authority which Urban VIII. gave to Franciſco [Barberini, his eldeſt Nephew,] was *not ordinary*; for he thought it not enough to giue the powre, except he gaue it the vanety and title of Padrone, that is, Maſter and Lord, a title never heard of before at Rome. But Urban had nothing in his mouth but the Cardinall Padrone: Where is the Cardinall Padrone? Call the Cardinall Padrone: Speake to the Cardinall Padrone: Nothing was heard of but the Cardinall Padrone; which the embaſſadors of Princes did not like, ſaying they had no Padrone but the Pope himſelfe. Howeuer theire [the Barberinis'] ambition ſtayed not at this title: they tooke exceptions of the quality of Illuſtriſſimo, with which hitherto the Cardinalls had binn content for ſo many ages. The title of Excellency belonging to ſoveraine Princes in Italy, they ſtrove to find out ſomething that ſhould not be inferiour to it; and, canvaſing many titles, at length they pitched upon *Eminency*, which the Princes hearing of, they took upon themſelves the title of Highneſs." MS. as before.

the patron of Taſſo, Manſo, marquis of Villa, a nobleman diſtinguiſhed by his virtue and his learning. To this eminent perſon he was obliged in many important inſtances: and, as a teſtimony of gratitude, he preſented to him, at his departure from Naples, his beautiful eclogue, entitled *Manſus;* which Dr. Johnſon acknowledges muſt have raiſed in the noble Italian an high opinion of Engliſh elegance and literature. Manſo likewiſe has addreſſed a diſtich to Milton, which is prefixed to the Latin poems.

From Naples Milton intended to proceed to Sicily and Athens:

"Countries," as Mr. Warton has excellently obſerved, [q] "connected with his finer feelings, interwoven with his poetical ideas, and impreſſed upon his imagination by his habits of reading, and by long and intimate converſe with the Grecian literature. But ſo prevalent were his patriotick attachments, that, hearing in Italy of the commencement of the national quarrel, inſtead of proceeding forward to feaſt his fancy with the contemplation of ſcenes familiar to Theocritus and Homer, the pines of Etna and the paſtures of Peneus, he abruptly changed his courſe, and haſtily returned home to plead the cauſe of ideal liberty. Yet in this chaos of controverſy, amidſt endleſs diſputes concerning religious and political reformation, independency, prelacy, tithes, toleration, and tyranny, he ſometimes ſeems to have heaved a ſigh for the peaceable enjoyments of lettered ſolitude, for his congenial purſuits, and the more mild and ingenuous exerciſes of the muſe. In a Letter to Henry Oldenburgh, written in 1654, he ſays, [r] 'Hoc cum libertatis adverſariis inopinatum certamen, *diverſis* longè et *amœnioribus* omninò me ſtudiis intentum, ad ſe rapuit *invitum*.' And in one of his proſe-tracts, [s] 'I may one day hope to have ye again in a

[q] Preface to his Edition of the Smaller Poems.

[r] Proſe-Works, vol. iii. p. 530. ed. 1698.

[s] Apol. Smectymn. 1642.

ſtill time, when there ſhall be no Chiding. Not in theſe Noiſes.' And in another, having mentioned ſome of his ſchemes for epick poetry and tragedy, 'of higheſt hope and hardeſt attempting' he adds, [1] 'With what ſmall willingneſs I endure to interrupt the purſuit of no leſs hopes than theſe, and leave a calm and pleaſing ſolitarineſſe, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubled ſea of noiſes and hoarſe diſputes, from beholding the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and ſtill air of delightfull ſtudies, &c.' He ſtill, however, obſtinately perſiſted in what he thought his duty. But ſurely theſe ſpeculations ſhould have been conſigned to the enthuſiaſts of the age, to ſuch reſtleſs and wayward ſpirits as Prynne, Hugh Peters, Goodwyn, and Baxter. Minds leſs refined, and faculties leſs elegantly cultivated, would have been better employed in this task:

——————— 'Coarſe complexions,
'And cheeks of ſorry grain, will ſerve to ply
'The ſampler, and to teaſe the huſwife's wool:
'What need a vermeil-tinctur'd lip for that,
'Love-darting eyes, and treſſes like the morn?' —"

He returned by the way of Rome, though ſome mercantile friends had acquainted him that the Jeſuits there were forming plots againſt him, for the liberty of his converſation upon matters of religion. He paid little attention to the [2] advice of his friend Sir Henry Wotton, "to keep his thoughts cloſe, and his countenance open." Nor did the liberal and polished Manſo omit to acquaint him, at his departure, that he would have ſhown him more conſiderable favours, if his conduct had been leſs unguarded. He is ſuppoſed to have given offence by having viſited Galileo. And he had been with difficulty reſtrained from publickly aſſerting, within the verge of the Vatican, the

[1] Church-Governm. B. ii. 1641.

[2] See the Prelim. Notes to *Comus*, in this edition.

cauſe of Proteſtantiſm. While Milton, however, defended his principles without hypocriſy, he appears not to have courted conteſt. When he was queſtioned as to his faith, he was too honeſt to conceal his ſentiments, too dauntleſs to relinquiſh them. He ſtaid at Rome two months more without fear, and indeed without moleſtation. From Rome he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with the moſt lively marks of affection by his friends, and made a ſecond reſidence of two months. From Florence he viſited Lucca: Then croſſing the Apennine, he paſſed by the way of Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, in which city he ſpent a month. From Venice he took his courſe through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Leman, to Geneva. After ſpending ſome time in this city, where he became acquainted with [w] Giovanni Deodati, and Frederick Spanheim, he returned through France, and came home after an abſence of fifteen months. Mr. Hayley has admirably obſerved, that, "in the relation which Milton gives himſelf of his return, the name of Geneva recalling to his mind one of the moſt ſlanderous of his political adverſaries, he animates his narrative by a ſolemn appeal to Heaven on his unſpotted integrity; he proteſts that, during his reſidence in foreign ſcenes, where licentiouſneſs was univerſal, his own conduct was perfectly irreproachable. I dwell the more zealouſly on whatever may elucidate the moral character of Milton; becauſe, even among thoſe who love and revere him, the ſplendour of the poet has in ſome meaſure eclipſed the merit of the man: but in proportion as the particulars of his life are ſtudied with intelligence and

[w] See the Notes on *Epitaph. Dam.*

candour, his virtue will become, as it ought to be, the friendly rival of his genius, and receive its due ſhare of admiration and eſteem."

His return happened about the time of the King's ſecond expedition againſt the Scots, in which his forces under lord Conway were defeated by general Leſley, in the month of Auguſt 1639. In a Bible, * ſaid to have been once in his poſſeſſion, (probably the conſtant companion of his travels,) is a manuſcript remark, dated 1639 at Canterbury city, which may ſerve to ſhow the powerful impreſſion made on his mind, (admitting the authenticity of the remark,) by this eventful period. "This year of very dreadful commotion, and I weene will enſue murderous times of conflicting fight." The date of the year and place may lead us to ſuppoſe that, having landed at Dover, he was on his return from his travels to London. The gentleman, who communicated the intelligence of this Bible to the publick, and had been indulged with a ſight of it, ſelected other marginal obſervations which appeared to him remarkable; among which is the following poetical note on I. Maccab. xiv. 16. "Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathan was dead, they were very ſorry:"

"When that day of death ſhall come,
"Then ſhall nightly ſhades prevaile;
"Soon ſhall love and muſick faile;
"Soone the freſh turfe's tender blade
"Shall flouriſh on my ſleeping ſhade."

* Gentleman's Magazine, July 1792, p. 615. And I learn, from the obliging information of Mr. Nichols, that this Bible is now in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Mr. Blackburn, ſon of the late Archdeacon Blackburn who wrote the Remarks on Dr. Johnſon's Life of Milton, 12mo Lond. 1780.

The authenticity of the remarks, and of the Bible having belonged to Milton, has indeed been [y] queſtioned; but has been defended not without conſiderable force, by the communicator himſelf, and by other writers in the valuable miſcellany, in which the information has been given; to the demonſtrations and conjectures of whom I refer the reader [z].

Before we attend to the buſier ſcenes of life, in which Milton, now returned to his native country, became engaged; let me be permitted to lament that he never executed the ſcheme, which he once propoſed to himſelf in his animated lines to Manſo, of [a] "embelliſhing original tales of chivalry, of clothing the fabulous achievements of the early Britiſh kings and champions in the gorgeous trappings of epick attire." The delight which he had derived from the military tales of Italy now perhaps ſunk into neglect; though never into forgetfulneſs. In his lateſt poems he ſeems to look back, not without an eye of fond regard, to the more diſtinguiſhed compoſitions of this kind; and certainly with ample teſtimony of the attention, with which he had ſtudied (to uſe his own words) "thoſe lofty fables and romances that recount in ſolemn cantos the deeds of knighthood [b]."

At his return he heard of the death of his beloved friend and ſchoolfellow, Charles Diodati. And he lamented his loſs in that elegant eclogue, the *Epita-*

[y] Gent. Mag. Sept. 1792, p. 789.

[z] Gent. Mag. Oct. 1792, p. 900. And Ibid. Gent. Mag. February 1793, p. 106. Gent. Mag. March 1800, p. 199.

[a] See Mr. Warton's Preface to the Smaller Poems.

[b] See particularly P. L. B. i. 579, &c. P. R. B. iii. 336, &c.

phium Damonis, which Mr. Warton has ſucceſsfully defended againſt the cold remark of Dr. Johnſon [c].

He now hired a lodging in St. Bride's Church-yard, Fleet-ſtreet; where he undertook the education of his ſiſter's ſons, John and Edward Phillips, [d] "the firſt ten, the other nine years of age; and in a year's time made them capable of interpreting a Latin author at ſight." Finding his houſe not ſufficiently large for his library and furniture, he took a handſome [e] garden-houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, ſituated at the end of an entry, that he might avoid the noiſe and diſturbance of the ſtreet. Here he received into his houſe a few more pupils, the ſons of [f] his moſt intimate friends; and he proceeded, with cheerfulneſs, in the nobleſt employment of mankind, that of inſtructing others in knowledge and virtue. "As he was ſevere on one hand," ſays Aubrey, "ſo he was moſt familiar and free in his converſation to thoſe

[c] Note at the end of the poem.

[d] Aubrey's MS.

[e] From the Note ſigned H. in Dr. Johnſon's Life of Milton, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794, vol. i. p. 130, it appears, that there were many of theſe *garden-houſes*, i. e. houſes ſituated in a garden, eſpecially in the north ſuburbs of London; and that the term is technical, frequently occurring in the Athen. and Faſt. Oxon. The annotator adds, that the meaning may be collected from the article Thomas Farnabe, the famous ſchoolmaſter; of whom the author ſays, that he taught in Goldſmith's-rents, in Cripplegate pariſh, behind Redcroſs-ſtreet, where were large gardens and handſome houſes: Milton's houſe in Jewin-ſtreet was alſo a *garden-houſe*, as were indeed moſt of his dwellings after his ſettlement in London.

[f] See the laſt Note on Lawes's Dedication of *Comus* to Lord Brackley.

whom he muſt ſerve in his way of education." His younger nephew has related the method of his inſtruction, and the books employed. Of the Latin, the four authors concerning huſbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; Cornelius Celſus, the phyſician; a great part of Pliny's natural hiſtory; the Architecture of Vitruvius; the Stratagems of Frontinus; and the philoſophical poets, Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek, Heſiod; Aratus's Phænomena and Dioſemeia; Dionyſius Afer de ſitu orbis; Oppian's Cynegeticks and Halieuticks; Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war, continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius's Argonauticks; and in proſe Plutarch's Placita philoſophorum, and of the Education of children; Xenophon's Cyropædia and Anabaſis; Ælian's Tacticks; and the Stratagems of Polyænus. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues impede the cultivation of the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriack, ſo far as to go through the Pentateuch, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphraſe, and to underſtand ſeveral chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriack Teſtament; beſides the modern languages, Italian and French; and a knowledge of mathematicks and aſtronomy. The Sunday exerciſe of his pupils was, principally, to read a chapter of the Greek Teſtament, and to hear his learned expoſition of it: to which was added the writing, from his dictation, ſome part of a ſyſtem of divinity, which he had collected from the ableſt divines who had written upon the ſubject. From the rigid attention which ſuch a ſyſtem required he occaſionally relaxed; and once in three or four

weeks the hard ſtudy and ſpare diet, of which he was an eminent example to his pupils, gave way to the regale of a gaudy day with ſome young gentlemen of his acquaintance; the chief of whom, ſays his nephew, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, the beaus of thoſe times, but nothing near ſo bad as thoſe now-a-days!" Theſe were the ſeaſons in which Milton "reſolved to drench in mirth that, after, no repenting draws," and in which he would not forfeit his pretenſions of admiſſion into the train of the true Euphroſyne:

——"In thy right hand lead with thee
"The mountain-nymph, ſweet Liberty;
"And, if I give thee *honour due*,
"*Mirth*, admit me of thy crew;
"To live with her, and live with thee,
"In *unreproved pleaſures* free."

It ſeems uncandid in Dr. Johnſon to have ridiculed the academick inſtitutions of Milton with the title of the "*wonder-working* academy," becauſe no man very eminent for knowledge proceeded from it, and becauſe Philips's ſmall hiſtory of poetry, as he [g] inaccurately ſtates, is its only genuine product. The merit of Milton's intention cannot be denied, however the mode of education, which he purſued, may perhaps be juſtly thought impracticable. His nephew, with great ſpirit and affection, obſerves that, if his pupils [h] "had received his documents with the ſame acuteneſs of wit and apprehenſion, the ſame induſtry, alacrity, and thirſt after knowledge; as the Inſtructor was endued with, what prodigies of wit and learning

[g] See this point further diſcuſſed in the preſent Account.
[h] Life of Milton, p. xix.

might they have proved! The ſcholars might in ſome degree, have come near to the equalling of the Maſter, or at leaſt have in ſome ſort made good what he ſeems to predict in the cloſe of an elegy he made in the ſeventeenth year of his age, upon the death of one of his ſiſter's children, a daughter, who died in her infancy:

> Then thou, the mother of ſo ſweet a child,
> Her falſe-imagin'd loſs ceaſe to lament,
> And wiſely learn to curb thy ſorrows wild;
> This if thou do, he will an offspring give,
> That, to the world's laſt end, ſhall make thy name to live."

But, though thus employed in the education of youth, Milton now began to ſacrifice his time to the harſh and crabbed employment of controverſy. In In 1641 the clamour ran high againſt the biſhops, and in that clamour he joined, by publiſhing a treatiſe *Of Reformation*, in two books; being willing to aſſiſt the Puritans in their deſigns againſt the eſtabliſhed Church, who, as he informs us in his *Second Defence*, were inferiour to the biſhops in learning. We are to recollect that Milton had before attacked the epiſcopal clergy, and had even anticipated the execution of Archbiſhop Laud, in his *Lycidas*, written before he was twenty-nine years old. The antipathy, then clothed in an allegorick veil, now burſt into expreſſions of elaborate and undiſguiſed invective. Of the innovations, cauſed in the ceremonies of the Church by Laud, and which excited the animadverſion of Milton, it may not be improper here to obſerve, that it has been [i] ſaid by a great ſcholar,

[i] See the Europ. Magazine, vol. xxviii. p. 379.

and moſt excellent hiſtorian in eccleſiaſtical no leſs than in civil matters, that every ceremony, of which Laud enforced the obſervation, is to be found in the ritual of Andrews, biſhop of Wincheſter, who was ſtyled the antipapiſtical prelate. Laud, in his ſpeech delivered at the Star-Chamber, when he paſſed judgment on Baſtwick, Burton, and Prynne, thus vindicates himſelf, p. 4, &c. [k] "I can ſay it clearly and truly as in the preſence of God, I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermoſt of what I am conſcious, but with a ſingle heart, and with a ſincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Chriſt profeſſed, eſtabliſhed, and maintained in this Church of England. For my care of this Church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the externall worſhip of God in it, and the ſetling of it to the rules of its firſt reformation, are the cauſes (and the ſole cauſes, whatever are pretended,) of *this malicious ſtorme, which hath lowered ſo black upon me, and ſome of my brethren.* And in the meane time they, which are the only or the chief *innovators* of the Chriſtian world, having nothing to ſay, *accuſe us of innovation;* they themſelves and their complices in the meane time being the *greateſt innovators* that the Chriſtian world hath almoſt ever known. I deny not but others have

[k] "A Speech delivered in the Starre-Chamber, on Wedneſday the 14th of June, MDCXXXVII, at the cenſure of John Baſtwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn: concerning pretended Innovations in the Church. By the moſt reverend father in God, William, L. Archbiſhop of Canterbury. London, printed by R. Badger, 1637."

ſpread more dangerous errors in the Church of Chriſt; but no men, in any age of it, have been *more guilty of innovation* than they, while themſelves cry out againſt it: *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* And I ſaid wel, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* For 'tis moſt apparent to any man that will not winke, that the *intention of theſe men, and their abettors, was and is to raiſe a ſedition; being as great incendiaries in the State (where they get power) as they have ever been in the Church;* Novatian himſelfe hardly greater. Our maine crime is (would they all ſpeake out, as ſome of them do,) that we are biſhops; were we not ſo, ſome of us might be as paſſable as other men." To thoſe, who would examine attentively the eccleſiaſtical controverſy of this period, I recommend the peruſal of the whole ſpeech.

In 1641, the eloquent Hall, biſhop of Norwich, having publiſhed an *Humble Remonſtrance* in favour of Epiſcopacy, five miniſters, under the title of *Smectymnuus*, a word formed from the firſt letters of their [1] names, wrote an *Anſwer;* of which Archbiſhop Uſher publiſhed a *Confutation.* To this *Confutation* Milton replied in his Treatiſe *Of Prelatical Epiſcopacy.* And, although he has ungracefully claſſed the archbiſhop's *Confutation* with "ſome late treatiſes, *one whereof goes under the name* of James, Lord Biſhop of Armagh," he has, in his next publication, complimented the excellent prelate for

[1] Stephen Marſhall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young (Milton's preceptor), Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurſtow, the initial letter of whoſe Chriſtian name is quaintly divided, in order to produce this celebrated word! This is to be enumerated among the few playful tricks of fanaticiſm.

his learning. With ſuch an adverſary as Uſher, indeed, which of the *Smectymnuans* would have dared to cope? This enterpriſe none *could* partake with Milton. Vehement as he was in his reply to the two biſhops, he alſo enlarged this topick of puritanical zeal in another performance, entitled *The Reaſon of Church Government urged againſt Prelacy*, in two books. And, biſhop Hall having publiſhed *A Defence of the Humble Remonſtrance*, he wrote *Animadverſions* upon it. Theſe treatiſes were the fruits of his prejudice againſt the eſtabliſhed Church in 1641. From the third treatiſe, *The Reaſon of Church Government*, we derive ſome knowledge of his literary projects, and of the opinion he entertained of his own abilities; expreſſed, as Dr. Johnſon well obſerves, not with oſtentatious exultation, but with calm confidence; with a promiſe to undertake ſomething, he yet knows not what, that may be of uſe and honour to his country. The whole paſſage, from which Dr. Johnſon has cited a ſmall part as a fervid, pious, and rational pledge of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, however well known to the admirers of the poet, is too ſublime and intereſting to be read again and again without renewed and encreaſed delight.

" [m] Time ſerves not now, and, perhaps, I might ſeem too profuſe to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the ſpacious circuits of her muſing, hath liberty to propoſe to herſelf, though of higheſt hope and hardeſt attempting; whether that epick form, whereof the two poems of Homer, and thoſe other two of Virgil and Taſſo, are a diffuſe, and

[m] Introduction to the ſecond Book.

the book of Job a brief, model; or whether the rules of Ariſtotle herein are ſtrictly to be kept, or nature to be followed; which in them that know art, and uſe judgement, is no tranſgreſſion, but an enriching of art: and laſtly, what king or knight, before the Conqueſt, might be choſen, in whom to lay the pattern of a chriſtian hero. And as Taſſo gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition againſt the infidels, Belifarius againſt the Goths, or Charlemain againſt the Lombards; if to the inſtinct of nature, and the emboldening of art, aught may be truſted, and that there be nothing adverſe in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no raſhneſs, from an equal diligence and inclination, to preſent the like offer in our ancient ſtories. Or whether thoſe dramatick conſtitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, ſhall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation.—Or, if occaſion ſhall lead, to imitate thoſe magnifick odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in moſt things worthy. But thoſe frequent ſongs throughout the Law and Prophets, beyond all theſe, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of compoſition, may be eaſily made appear over all the kinds of lyrick poeſy to be incomparable. Theſe abilities, wherefoever they be found, are the inſpired gift of God, rarely beſtowed, but yet to ſome (though moſt abuſe) in every nation; and are of power, beſides the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cheriſh in a great people the ſeeds of virtue and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and ſet the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and loftie hymns the throne and equipage of God's Almightineſs, and what he works, and what he ſuffers to be wrought, with high providence in his church; to ſing victorious agonies of martyrs and ſaints, the deeds and triumphs of juſt and pious nations doing valiantly through faith againſt the enemies of Chriſt; to deplore the general relapſes of kingdoms and ſtates from juſtice and God's true worſhip. Laſtly, whatſoever in religion is holy and ſublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatſoever hath

paſſion or admiration in all the changes of that, which is called fortune from without, or the wily ſubtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all theſe things, with a ſolid and treatable ſmoothneſs to paint out and deſcribe, teaching over the whole book of ſanctity and virtue, through all the inſtances of example, with ſuch delight, to thoſe eſpecially of ſoft and delicious temper, who will not ſo much as look upon Truth herſelf, unleſs they ſee her elegantly dreſt; that whereas the paths of honeſty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed eaſy and pleaſant, they will then appear to all men both eaſy and pleaſant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed.—

" The thing which I had to ſay, and thoſe intentions, which have lived within me ever ſince I could conceive myſelf any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuſe that urgent reaſon hath pluckt from me by an abortive and fore-dated diſcovery; and the accompliſhment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promiſe; but that none hath by more ſtudious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied ſpirit that none ſhall, that I dare almoſt aver of myſelf, as far as life and free leiſure will extend. Neither do I think it ſhame to covenant with any knowing reader that for ſome few years yet I may go on truſt with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raiſed from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waſte from the pen of ſome vulgar amoriſt, or the trencher fury of a riming paraſite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her Siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and ſends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleaſes: to this muſt be added induſtrious and ſelect reading, ſteady obſervation, inſight into all ſeemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in ſome meaſure be compaſſed, at mine own peril and coſt I refuſe not to ſuſtain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard ſo much credulity upon the beſt pledges that I can give

them. Although it nothing content me to have diſcloſed thus much before hand; but that I truſt hereby to make it manifeſt with what ſmall willingneſs I endure to interrupt the purſuit of no leſs hopes than theſe, and leave a calm and pleaſing ſolitarineſs, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubled ſea of noiſe and hoarſe diſputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and ſtill air of delightfull ſtudies."

In 1642 he cloſed the controverſy with an *Apology for Smectymnuus*, in anſwer to the *Confutation of his Animadverſions*, written, as he ſuppoſed, by biſhop Hall or his ſon. He thought all this while, ſays Dr. Newton, that he was vindicating eccleſiaſtical liberty. Yet he has confeſſed, that he was not diſpoſed to "[h] this manner of writing, wherein knowing myſelf inferiour to myſelf, led by the genial power of nature to another taſk, I have the uſe, as I may account it, but of my left hand." *This left hand*, indeed, has recorded too many ſentiments which we muſt reject, too many expreſſions which we muſt lament. By his aſperity the repulſive form of puritaniſm is rendered more hideous and diſguſting, and the cauſe which he would ſupport is weakened.

At Whitſuntide in 1643, and in his thirty-fifth year, (as I have before obſerved,) he married Mary, the daughter of Richard Powell, a gentleman who reſided at Foreſt Hill near Shotover in Oxfordſhire, and was a juſtice of the peace for the county. He brought his bride to London; who, after living only a few weeks with him, obtained his conſent to accept the invitation of her friends to ſpend the remaining part of the ſum-

[h] Introduction to the ſecond Book of his Reaſon of Church Government.

mer with them in the country. He gave her permiſſion to ſtay till Michaelmas; but ſhe declined to return at the expiration of that period. The viſit to her friends was, in fact, only a pretence for conjugal deſertion. This deſertion has been imputed, by Phillips, to the different principles of the two families. Her relations, he tells us, "being generally addicted to the Cavalier party, and ſome of them poſſibly ingaged, in the King's ſervice, (who by this time had his head quarters at Oxford, and was in ſome proſpect of ſucceſs,) they began to repent them of having matched the eldeſt daughter of the family to a perſon ſo contrary to them in opinion; and thought it would be a blot in their eſcutcheon, whenever that Court ſhould come to flouriſh again: however, it ſo incenſed our author, that he thought it would be diſhonourable ever to receive her again after ſuch a repulſe." The ſame biographer intimates, that ſhe was averſe to the philoſophick life of Milton, and ſighed for the mirth and jovialneſs to which ſhe had been accuſtomed in Oxfordſhire. And Aubrey relates, that ſhe "* was brought up and bred where there was a great deal of company and merriment, as dancing, &c.; and, when ſhe came to live with her huſband, ſhe found it ſolitary, no company came to her, and ſhe often heard her nephews cry and be beaten. This life was irkſome to her, and ſo ſhe went to her parents. He ſent for her home after ſome time. As for wronging his bed, I never heard the leaſt ſuſpicion of that; nor had he of that any jealouſie." It has eſcaped the biographers of the

* MS. as before.

poet, however, that, while he ingenuouſly admits " [p] that every motion of a jealous mind ſhould not be regarded," he has not failed to enumerate, among the reaſons which are ſaid to have warranted divorce in elder times, " the *wilfull haunting of feaſts*, and invitations with men not of her near kindred, the lying forth of her houſe without probable cauſe, the *frequenting of theatres againſt her huſband's mind*, &c." If this be not pointed directly at the conduct of his wife, the following paſſage certainly exhibits his indignation at her continuance under her *father's* roof, while at the ſame time it confirms Aubrey's account that he did not ſuſpect her as faithleſs to his bed. " [q] He [Grotius] ſhews alſo, that fornication is taken in Scripture for *ſuch a continual headſtrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the huſband*, and proves it out of Judges xix. 2, where the Levite's wife is ſaid to have played the whore againſt him: which Joſephus and the Septuagint, with the Chaldean, interpret *only of ſtubbornneſs and rebellion againſt her huſband:* and to this I add that Kimchi, and the two other rabbies who gloſs the text, are in the ſame opinion. Ben Gerſom reaſons, that had it been whoredom, a Jew and a Levite would have diſdained to fetch her again. *And this I ſhall contribute, that had it been whoredom, ſhe would have choſen any other place to run to than to her* FATHER'S HOUSE, it being ſo infamous for a Hebrew woman to play the harlot, and ſo opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the Judges is under-

[p] Doct. and Diſcip. of Divorce, B. ii. Ch. xviii.

[q] Ibid.

ſtood for *ſtubborn diſobedience againſt the huſband, and not for adultery.*"

He ſent for her, however, in vain. As all his letters, deſiring her to return, were unanſwered; ſo the meſſenger, whom he afterwards employed for the ſame purpoſe, was diſmiſſed from her father's houſe with contempt. He reſolved therefore, without further ceremony, to repudiate her; and, in defence of his reſolution, he publiſhed four treatiſes, the two firſt in 1644, the two laſt in 1645. *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce; The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce; Tetrachordon, or Expoſitions upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage;* and *Colaſterion.* The laſt is a reply to the anonymous author of "An Anſwer to a Book, intituled *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce*, or a Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other Married Women againſt Divorce. Wherein both Sexes are vindicated from all bondage of Canon Law, and other miſtakes whatſoever; and the unſound principles of the Author are examined and fully confuted by Authority of Holy Scripture, the Laws of this Land, and ſound Reaſon. Lond. 1644." This pamphlet was licenſed and recommended by Mr. Joſeph Caryl, a Preſbyterian divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job; whom Milton, in his reply, roughly ſtigmatizes with repeated charges of ignorance, as he alſo ſtyles his antagoniſt "a ſerving-man both by nature and by function, an idiot by breeding, and a ſolicitor by preſumption!" The application of theſe and ſimilar terms, in the diſpute, may remind us of the *elegant dialogue* be-

tween Nym and Piſtol in Shakſpeare's [r] King Henry the fifth: but there a wife retained, and not a wife repudiated, is the cauſe of ſo much eloquence!

There had been another tract written againſt Milton's doctrine, which he briefly notices at the beginning of his *Colaſterion*, entitled "Divorce at pleaſure." Nor was he inattentive to the remark of Dr. Featley, who in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to his "Dippers dipt," publiſhed in 1645, enumerates, among "the audacious attempts upon Church and State, a *Tractate of Divorce*, in which the bonds of marriage are let looſe to inordinate luſt, and putting away wives for many other cauſes beſides that which our Saviour only approveth, namely, in caſe of adultery." Milton ſpeaks contemptuouſly of the author as having written an "equivocating treatiſe," and as "diving the while himſelf with a more deep prelatical malignance againſt the preſent State and Church-government." Dr. Johnſon and Mr. Warton are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the new doctrine to have been unnoticed, or neglected: indeed the two Sonnets, which Milton wrote on the ſame ſubject, ſeem to diſcountenance the opinion. It certainly was received with ridicule, as we learn from Howel's [s] Letter to Sir Edward Spencer. But it gave riſe to a band, not perhaps very formidable, who were called *Divorcers*, and even *Miltoniſts*. Pagitt, in his "Deſcription of the Hereticks and Sectaries" of that period, notices the [t] former ſect with him, who wrote

[r] Act ii. Scene i.

[s] Letters, 10th edit. p. 455.

[t] Hereſiography, &c. 1654. p. 129. See alſo Ibid. p. 77. And "A brief deſcription &c. of Phanatiques in generall, 1660." p. 33.

the *Tractate of Divorce*, at their head. The latter title occurs in "[u] The Epilogue, ſhewing the Parallell in two Poems, the Return, and the Reſtauration, Addreſſed to her Highneſſe the Lady Elizabeth, by C[hriſtopher.] W[aſſe]. 1649." 8vo.

" Force can but in a Rape engage,
" 'Tis choice muſt make it Marriage:
" Hence a conveyance they contrive,
" Which muſt on us their cauſe derive:
" This muſt attaque, what holds out ſtill,
" And is impregnable, the Will:
" This muſt enchant our conſcious hands,
" To ſlumber in like guilty bands,

[u] This book was obligingly pointed out to me by Thomas Park, Eſq; to whom the literary world is indebted for ſome of the ſweeteſt Sonnets in the Engliſh language. The ſame gentleman directs me to the following bitter application of Milton's doctrine to himſelf by G. S. (whom I ſuppoſe to be the ſame perſon as the author of the weak performance noticed in Mr. Warton's and my own remarks on the poet's Sonnet to Cyriack Skinner,) in "Britain's Triumph, for her imparallel'd deliverance and her joyful celebrating the Proclamation of her moſt gracious incomparable king Charles the ſecond &c. 1660." 4to. G. S. the author, after ſatirizing the members of the Rump Parliament, thus proceeds, p. 15.

" But who appears here with the curtain drawn?
" What, MILTON! are you come to ſee the ſight?
" Oh *Image-breaker!* poor knave! had he fawn
" That which the ſame of made him crye out-right,
" He'ad taken counſel of Achitophell,
" Swung himſelf weary, and ſo gone to hell.

" This is a ſure Divorce, and the beſt way;
" Seek, Sir, no further, now the trick is found,
" To part a ſullen knave from's wife, that day
" He doth repent his choyce; ſtab'd, hang'd, or drown'd,
" Will make all ſure and further good will bring,
" The wretch will rail no more againſt his *King*."

" While, like the froward *Miltoniſt*,
" We our old nuptiall knot untwiſt:
" And with the hands, late faith did joyn,
" The bill of plain Divorce now ſigne."

It had been treated alſo as an "[w] errour ſo groſs as to need no other confutation," than the mere mention of it. But before theſe remarks had been made upon a doctrine, at which the ſhafts of ridicule as well as cenſure might indeed be fairly levelled, the innovation of the author had alſo been oppoſed from the pulpit. The preſbyterian clergy had not only cauſed him to be ſummoned before the Houſe of Lords, by whom however he was quickly diſmiſſed; but one of them, in a ſermon before the Lords and Commons on a faſt-day, had endeavoured in vain to excite their indignation againſt him. Milton notices this attack in the beginning of his *Tetrachordon*, and thanks the auditors for not repenting of what the preacher called their ſin, the neglecting to brand his book with ſome mark of their diſpleaſure. This opponent, who has been hitherto unnoticed, was Herbert Palmer, B. D. a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and parliamentary Maſter of Queen's College, Cambridge. "[x] If any," ſays he to his judicial audience,

[w] In "A Glaſſe for the Times, &c. With a briefe Collection of the Errors of our Times, and their Authors Names. Collected by T. C. a friend to Truth. Lond. 1648." 4to. Milton and his doctrine are noticed in p. 6. T. Forde, the dramatick writer, appears to have entertained no favourable opinion of *incompatibility of temper* being urged as a reaſon for divorce. See his letter to T. C. apparently written at the time when Milton's treatiſe was firſt publiſhed, in the collection of his Letters, 8vo. Lond. 1660, p. 103—106.

[x] I had examined many ſingle ſermons of this period, under

" plead conſcience for the lawfulneſſe of *polygamy;* (or for *divorce* for [y] other cauſes than Chriſt and his Apoſtles mention; of which a *wicked booke is abroad and uncenſured, though deſerving to be burnt, whoſe author hath been ſo impudent as to ſet his name to it, and dedicate it to yourſelves,*) or for liberty to marry

the hope of diſcovering the author who had thus publickly attacked Milton; but without ſucceſs. I am indebted to my liberal friend, James Bindley, Eſq; for pointing out, after a long reſearch alſo, this forgotten diſcourſe; of which I will give the title: " The Glaſſe of God's Providence towards his Faithfull Ones. Held forth in a Sermon preached to the two Houſes of Parliament at Margaret's Weſtminſter, Aug. 13, 1644. being an extraordinary day of Humiliation. Wherein is diſcovered the great failings that the beſt are liable unto, &c. The whole is applyed ſpecially to a more carefull obſervation of our late Covenant, and particularly againſt the ungodly toleration pleaded for *under pretence of Liberty of Conſcience.* By Herbert Palmer, B. D. &c."

[y] And yet it ſeems, in the *Confeſſio Fidei* of the Aſſembly of Divines publiſhed in 1656, that Milton's doctrine had not been entirely neglected. See Cap. xxiv. " *De Conjugio et Divortio.* §. 6. Quamvis ea ſit hominis corruptio, ut proclivis ſit ad excogitandum argumenta indebitè illos, quos Deus connubio junxit, diſſociandi; nihilominus tamen *extra* adulterium ac *deſertionem ita obſtinatam ut cui nullo remedio nec ab eccleſia nec à magiſtratu civili ſubveniri poſſit,* ſufficiens cauſa nulla eſſe poteſt conjugium diſſolvendi." Conf. Fid. 12mo. Cantab. 1656, p. 65. I am indebted to Mr. Octavius Gilchriſt, the ingenious editor of biſhop Corbet's poetry, for the notice of the following ſtroke of ſatire, evidently pointed at Milton, both in reſpect to this and to another ſubject, ſo late as in 1670, in the Preface to Echard's Grounds and Occaſions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion; " I am not, I'll aſſure you, any of thoſe occaſional writers, that, miſſing preferment at the Univerſity, can preſently write you their new ways of education; or, being tormented with an ill-choſen wife, ſet forth the Doctrine of Divorce to be truly evangelical."

inceſtuouſly, will you grant a toleration for all *this?*" Milton now became an enemy to the Preſbyterians, whom he before had favoured. Notwithſtanding their oppoſition, however, he proceeded to illuſtrate his opinion more forcibly by paying his addreſſes to a young lady of great wit and beauty, the daughter of one Dr. Davis, with a deſign to marry her! But this deſire of carrying his doctrine into practice was not countenanced by the lady. What is more remarkable, the proceeding contributed to effect a reconciliation with the diſcarded wife.

In the mean time, Milton purſued his ſtudies with unabating vigour; and, in 1644, at the requeſt of his friend, Mr. Samuel [z] Hartlib, publiſhed his tractate *Of Education;* or plan of academical inſtitution: in which, as he expreſſes it, he leads his ſcholar from Lilly to his commencing maſter of arts. Mr. Warton obſerves that [a] Milton's plan has more of ſhow than value. "[b] Education in England," Dr. Johnſon has remarked, "has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greateſt men, Milton and Locke. Milton's plan is impracticable, and I ſuppoſe has never been tried. Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect; it gives too much to one ſide, and too little to the other; it gives too little to literature." It is perhaps not generally known that Milton's treatiſe on this ſubject has been tranſlated

[z] Of this remarkable perſon the reader may find an account, written by himſelf, in Kennet's Regiſter, 1728. p. 868. See alſo Mr. Warton's firſt edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 116, &c. A Life of Hartlib is a deſideratum in Engliſh biography.

[a] See his firſt edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 117.

[b] Boſwell's Life of Johnſon, ed. 1799. vol. iii. p. 382.

into French. The tranſlator has beſtowed much eulogium [c] upon the author. In the ſame year, Milton publiſhed his *Areopagitica, a Speech for the liberty of unlicenſed Printing:* perhaps the beſt vindication, as Dr. Newton obſerves, that has been publiſhed at any time, or in any language, of that liberty which is the baſis and ſupport of all other liberties, the liberty of the preſs. But the candid critick adds, that it produced not the deſired effect; for the Preſbyterians were as fond of exerciſing the licenſing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing againſt it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates.

[c] " Dans les tems que nous nous propoſions de donner ces Lettres au Public, il nous en eſt tombé entre les mains *une de Milton*, qui n' a pas encore paru dans notre langue, &c.—Rien ne fait tant d' honneur à l' Angleterre que de voir que *le plus grand poëte*, et l' un de plus celebres philoſophes [Locke], qu' elle ait eus, ont aſſez ſenti de quelle importance étoit l' éducation des enfans, pour s' en occuper ſerieuſement.—Dans *cette Lettre* il eſt aiſé de s' appercevoir que ç' a été un des plus ſçavans hommes qui ayent vêcu. C'eſt par cette vaſte érudition, joint à un heureux génie, qu' il eſt devenu le plus grand de tous les poëtes modernes. Auſſi ſon *Paradis Perdu* n' eſt-il pas l' ouvrage de ſa jeuneſſe: Peut-être alors en avoit-il conçu l' idée; mais avant que de l' exécuter, il avoit vêcu avec les hommes, il avoit connu l' uſage et la puiſſance des paſſions, il avoit l' eſprit orné de la connoiſſance de toutes les ſciences & de tous les arts. Sans examiner ſi la maniere d' élever la jeuneſſe que Milton propoſe eſt aiſée à réduire en pratique; il eſt ſur que ſon plan eſt rempli de vûës très-fines & très-ſages, & qu' il paroît contenir tout ce qui eſt néceſſaire pour former un citoyen utile à ſa patrie & agréable à la ſociété." Lettres ſur L'Education des Princes. Avec une Lettre de Milton, &c. 1763 Preface. pp. lxxv, lxxix.

His father having come to live with him, after the ſurrender of Reading to the Earl of Eſſex in 1643, and his ſcholars now encreaſing, he required a larger houſe; before his removal to which, he was ſurpriſed, at one of his uſual viſits to a relation in the lane of St. Martin's-le-grand, to ſee his wife come from another room, and beg forgiveneſs on her knees. The interview on her part had been concerted. The declining ſtate of the royal cauſe, and conſequently of her father's family, as well as the intelligence of Milton's determination to marry again, cauſed her friends to employ every method to re-unite the inſulted huſband and diſobedient wife. It was contrived that ſhe ſhould be ready, when he came, in another apartment. Fenton, in his elegant ſketch of the poet's life, judiciouſly remarks, that "[d] it is not to be doubted but an interview of that nature, ſo little expected, muſt wonderfully affect him: and perhaps the impreſſions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetick ſcene in *Paradiſe Loſt*, in which Eve addreſſes herſelf to Adam for pardon and peace. At the interceſſion of his friends who were preſent, after a ſhort reluctance, he generouſly ſacrificed all his reſentment to her tears;

——————— 'Soon his heart relented
'Towards her, his life ſo late, and ſole delight,
'Now at his feet ſubmiſſive in diſtreſs.'

And after this re-union ſo far was he from retaining an unkind memory of the provocations which he had

[d] Prefixed to his edition of Paradiſe Loſt, firſt publiſhed in 1725.

received from her ill conduct, that, when the king's cauſe was entirely oppreſſed, and her father who had been active in his loyalty was expoſed to ſequeſtration, Milton received both him and his family to protection and free entertainment, in his own houſe, till their affairs were accommodated by his intereſt in the victorious faction." Mr. Powell, however, ſeems to have ſmarted ſeverely for his attachment to the royal party. I obſerve, in the "Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, that have compounded for their Eſtates," printed at London in 1655, that he was thus branded as well as fined: "Richard Powel, *Delinquent*, per John Pye, Eſq; 576l. 12s. 3d." And his houſe had been before ſeized by the rebels.

At the time of Milton's reconciliation with his wife, it was ſettled that ſhe ſhould reſide in the houſe of a friend, till his new manſion, which he had procured in [e] Barbican, was ready for the reception of his encreaſed houſhold. When it is conſidered that Milton cheerfully opened his doors to thoſe who had treated him with indignity and breach of faith; to a father, who, according to the poet's [f] Nuncupative Will, never paid him the promiſed marriage portion of a thouſand pounds, and to a mother, who, according to Wood, had encouraged the daughter in her perverſeneſs; we cannot but accede to Mr. Hayley's concluſion, that the records of private life exhibit not a more magnanimous example of forgiveneſs and beneficence. They are ſuppoſed to have left him

[e] See the Notes on Lawes's Dedication of *Comus*.

[f] Subjoined to this account of the Life. In the Notes on the Will Mr. Warton relates ſeveral particulars concerning Mr. Powell.

ſoon after the death of his father, who ended a long life in 1647; and whoſe declining days had been ſoothed by every attention of a truly affectionate ſon.

While Milton experienced the mortification of conjugal deſertion, and was immerſed in elaborate diſcuſſions connected with his misfortune, he was not without mental amuſement. His leiſure hours often paſſed ſmoothly away in viſits to a lady of the moſt engaging talents and converſation, the daughter of the Earl of Marlborough; to whom, as to her huſband Captain Hobſon, a very accompliſhed gentleman, his company was peculiarly acceptable. His tenth Sonnet, inſcribed to this diſcerning lady, is a grateful acknowledgement of his eſteem. His time alſo had been employed in collecting together his early poems, both Engliſh and Latin, for the preſs. They were firſt publiſhed by Humphrey Moſeley, the general publiſher of the poets of his day, in 1645; who tells us, in his Addreſs to the Reader, that "the author's more peculiar excellency in theſe ſtudies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to ſollicit them from him. Let the event guide itſelf which way it will, I ſhall deſerve of the age, by bringing into the light as true a birth as the Muſes have brought forth ſince our famous Spencer wrote; whoſe poems in theſe Engliſh ones are as rarely imitated, as ſweetly excelled." Moſeley was not more diſcerning than Milton was modeſt. But modeſty was a principal feature in Milton's character. He affixed only his initials to *Lycidas:* he acknowledged, with heſitation, *Comus.* It is rather ſurpriſing, that Mr. Warton ſhould have [g] aſſerted that,

[g] In the Prefaces to both his Editions of the Smaller Poems.

for ſeventy years after their firſt publication, he recollects no mention of theſe poems in the whole ſucceſſion of Engliſh literature; and that the quantity of an hemiſtich, quoted from them, is not to be found in the Collections of thoſe who have digeſted the Beauties or Phraſes of the Engliſh Poets from 1655 to 1738 inclufively. It is my duty poſitively to aſſert that in the edition of Poole's *Engliſh Parnaſſus*, or *Help to Engliſh Poeſie*, publiſhed in 1677, there are few [h] pages in which quotations may not be found from Milton's poetry. In the preface alſo to Ayres's *Lyrick Poems*, publiſhed in 1687, Milton is thus noticed:

"If any one quarrel at the oeconomy or ſtructure of theſe poems, many of them being Sonnets, Canzons, Madrigals, &c. objecting that none of our great men, either Mr. Waller, Mr. Cowley, or Mr. Dryden, whom it was moſt proper to have followed, have ever ſtooped to any thing of this ſort; I ſhall very readily acknowledge, that, being ſenſible of my own weakneſs and inability of ever attaining to the performance of one thing equal to the worſt piece of theirs, it eaſily diſſwaded me from that attempt, and put me on this; which is not without preſident: For *many eminent perſons* have publiſhed ſeveral things of this nature, and in this method, both Tranſlations and Poems of their own; as the famous Mr. Spencer, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Richard Fanſhaw, *Mr. Milton*, and ſome few others: The ſucceſs of all which, in theſe things, I muſt needs ſay, cannot much be boaſted of; and though I have little reaſon, after it, to expect credit from theſe my ſlight Miſcellanies, yet has it not diſcouraged me from adventuring on what my genius prompted me to."

[h] And, to the credit of Poole's ſelection, I may add that the examples are very often taken from *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo*, and the *Ode on the Nativity*.

I may further obſerve that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo* appear to have ſometimes caught the notice of Robert Herrick, in his *Heſperides*, publiſhed in 1648; and that both the eaſe and imagery of theſe poems are certainly copied, in a few inſtances, by Andrew Marvell, the intimate friend of Milton. I will cite a proof from his verſes, entitled *The Garden*, Poems, ed. 1681, p. 49.

" Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,
" And Innocence, thy ſiſter dear!
" Miſtaken long, I ſought you then
" In buſie companies of men."

That we meet with no notices of theſe exquiſite poems in the days of Cromwell, muſt be imputed to " the dark and ſullen humour of the time." And we may truly apply, to ſuch neglect, the judicious couplet of Milton's [i] happieſt imitator:

" Verſe, in the fineſt mould of fancy caſt,
" Was lumber in an age ſo void of taſte."

In 1647 Milton removed to a ſmaller houſe in Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's-Inn fields; and continued to inſtruct a few ſcholars. Phillips tells us, that " he is much miſtaken, if there was not about this time a deſign of making him an adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new modelling of the army proved an obſtruction to the deſign." This perhaps may be doubted, when it is conſidered that Waller was eſteemed a leader of the Preſbyterians againſt the deſigns of the Independents. Milton, in his military capacity, could not have ſerved cordially under a general ſo diſpoſed.

[i] Cowper. Table-Talk.

Till the overthrow of the kingly government in the death of Charles, his pen appears to have been unemployed. It was reſumed in order to ſilence the outcry, raiſed by the Preſbyterians, againſt the deed of blood; and to advance the intereſts of the infant commonwealth. The product of it was entitled, "*The Tenure of Kings and Magiſtrates*, proving that it is lawfull, and hath been held ſo through all ages, for any, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king; and, after due conviction, to depoſe, and put him to death, if the ordinary magiſtrate have neglected or denied to do it: And that they, who of late ſo much blame depoſing, are the men that did it themſelves, 1649." Milton ſeems to have been not correct in his charge. He ſhould have added the Papiſts and Independents, who were banded in firm league againſt the Church and the King. He remembered however the aſſiſtance which had been afforded by the Pope, when he wrote his treatiſe *Of True Religion* four and twenty years afterwards; of whom he ſays, "we have ſhaken off his Babyloniſh yoke, [who] hath not ceaſed by his ſpies and agents, bulls and emiſſaries, *once to deſtroy both King and Parliament*." On this part of Engliſh hiſtory it cannot be unintereſting to enlarge.

"I ſhall here ſay no more," ſays the editor of a very curious [k] tract, "than that the doctrine which was practis'd in

[k] "Certain paſſages which happened at Newport in the Iſle of Wight, Nov. 29, 1648, relating to King Charles I. Written by Mr. Edward Cooke, of Highnam in Glouceſterſhire, ſometime Colonel of a Regiment under Oliver Cromwell. Lond. 1690." 4to.

forty eight, was publiſhed in Engliſh in *twenty one,* in the book entitled *The Rights of the Prelate and the Prince,* as good Roman Catholick divinity, by J. E. with Licence of Superiors; and conſequently, that John Goodwin and John Milton were not the firſt broachers of it in England. The ſtrain of the whole book is of that nature, and the following words are part of it, ch. 15. p. 375. "And if Kings, who were not excommunicated nor deprived by the Pope, may by the Commonwealth be depos'd and kill'd, where they are intolerable tyrants; why may not the Commonwealth exerciſe the ſame power over tyrants excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, they, after excommunication and deprivation, being no more Kings, but private men."

The ſubject indeed had been before diſcuſſed in a very intereſting diſcourſe, of which the title is, "Herod and Pilate reconciled: Or, The Concord of Papiſt and Puritan (againſt Scripture, Fathers, Councels, and other Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion, Depoſition, and Killing of Kings. Diſcovered by David Owen, Batchelour of Divinitie, &c. Cambridge, 1610," 4to. To this point I may alſo apply an extract from "Foxes and Firebrands; or a Specimen of the danger and harmony of Popery and Separation;" attributed by ſome to Dr. Nelſon, by others to Sir James Ware: "But that which makes the thing plain, is the diſcovery which was made to Sir William Boſwell by Andreas ab Habnerfeld; which was communicated firſt by Sir William to my Lord of Canterbury, and by him tranſmitted to the King then at York, Novemb. 1640. The whole is printed by itſelf, and in [1] Ruſhworth's Collections; and is too long here to inſert; but the principal parts and matter of the

[1] Hiſt. Collect. p. 1314.

plot was this; That there was a deſign on foot, by the Papiſts, againſt the King and the Archbiſhop. That, to effect this, the Scottiſh commotions were raiſed, and fomented by the Jeſuits; that they exaſperated the Engliſh Diſſenters by the ſeverity uſed againſt Pryn, Burton, and Baſtwick; and the Scots, by the fears of Popery upon the impoſition of the Common-Prayer book; that Cuneus or Con, the Pope's Legate, and Chamberlain a Scot, Chaplain and Almoner to Cardinal Richlieu, were the great negociators of this conſpiracy; and that the deſign was to embroil theſe nations in a civil war. The troubles came on ſo faſt, as may well be ſuppoſed, precipitated for fear of a further proſecution of this diſcovery, that the Archbiſhop loſt his head for refuſing a cardinal's hat, and oppoſing the Scottiſh Covenanters; and the King his, becauſe he would not give away the crown, and put down the mitre, by granting toleration, 2d. edit. 1682, pp. 50, 51." It was one of the threats of the Covenanters, that "the Enemy ſhould be forced either to give Liberty of Conſcience to the Catholicks, or put themſelves in danger of loſing all, p. 48." Other proofs of the [m] combination might be added. The following narrative is too curious, and too well authenticated, to be here omitted. It is from the pen of Dr. Bargrave, (whoſe manuſcript I have already noticed) who was particularly acquainted with Holſtenius, one of Milton's friends. Being at Rome, he ſays,

"Cardinel Roſſetti was ſhewed to me to take more particular notice of him, becauſe that he had bin almoſt 3 yeares

[m] See more particularly Kennet's Regiſter, 1728, pp. 539, 540. And Lord Strafforde's Letters, 1739, vol. ii. p. 74.

in England the Popes Nuntio Incognito, as you may find in the Italian Hiſtorian mentioned in the margent [o].

" An°. 1639 There arriued (ſayth he) at London, to reſide at the Court as a gentleman traueler, ſent by Cardinal Barberino, but effectually he was the Pope's Nuntio, by name Charles Roſſetti, an Earle by birth; whoe had taken vpon him the Church habite of a Prelate; whoe was of a greate ſpirit, actiue, and prudent; able to vndertake buſineſs of the greateſt difficultie. He was valerous of heart, had a learned tongue, was quick in parts, in breif he was ſuch an one, that his fellow could not be fownde in all the Court of Rome. His letters were dated at Rome the 16th. of Aprill: (and then my Author telleth us a ſecret that we are not to know, viz.) And becauſe that in England he woare a Secular habit, and tooke vpon him no other name but of Conte Roſſetti, therefore I will allſo hide, where I haue occaſion to mention him, his eccleſiaſticall title of Monſignore, and giue him onely the title of his noble famely [p]. Vpon his comming to Court, and being courteouſly receiued, all things went well with the Ro: Catholicks; and thoſe Preiſts, that by law were to be puniſhed with Death, were onely baniſhed. This was the Spring time of the Catholick Religion in that kingdome, which *floriſhed by the ſweete favourable blaſts of the Conte Roſſetti!* Vpon this libels went about that [q] the King and Archbiſhop were Popiſh &c; wherevpon the Archbiſhop aduiſed the King to rid his Court of the Roman Miniſters, and to renew the rigour of the law. The Conte Roſſetti, hearing of this, wold not hide the Intereſſe for which he was at London; but, vpon this occaſion, being made more vigorouſe of courrage in this time of dainger, thought that now an opportunety was giuen him *to captiuate the Kings ſoul,* and to conduct him to the Catholick Fayth! vpon which he broke his minde to a confident Courtier of theires, whoe yet doubted how to effect it. Roſſetti, having

[o] Il Conte Biſaccione Delle Guerre Civili D'Inghilterra, Edit. 2a. 1653. p. 17.

[p] P. 18. [q] P. 22.

bin perſuaded by the Queene to write to the Pope for abowt an 100000[lb] ſterling to ſupplie the Kings neceſſeties, His Holineſs his anſwer was, [r] 'That the Pope was very ready to ſupply the King ſo ſoone as euer he ſhould declare him ſelfe a Catholick, the onely auaylable meanes to loſen the chaines of the Treaſurie of the Caſtle of St. Angelo at Rome. But, for a King that ſhould turne to the boſom of the Church, he would lay hands upon that Sacred Treaſorie, otherwiſe ſhut vp and impenetrable &c.—Where one may reade a greate many Intreegues abowt the lending of this mony, [s] and how reſolately the King withſtood theire attempts, and how Roſſetti aſſalted the two Archbiſhops to returne to the Roman Fayth [t]. And then we haue mention of Roſſetti's letter to the King to perſwade him to turn Papiſt. But he finding his Ma:[tie] vnmooveable and firme as a Rock, that ſtrongly reſiſteth the fury of ſtormes and tempeſts, hauing his Faith fixed and faſtned to a more ſure foundation; this Latent [u] Nuntio gaue ouer his fruitleſs Deſigne. Finding (ſaith my Author) that *he gaue light vnto the blinde, that he ſpake to one that was deaſt, and, as the prouerb hath it, wold with water waſh a blackmore white,* the (Latent) Nuntio forſooke him; and ſtole owt of England (for feare of the Parliament that ſented him) by the help of Sig[r]. Giuſtiniano the Venetian Imbaſſador, and at his comeing to Rome *fu decorato della Porpora Vaticana.*

" Though he was forced to be gonn, yet the effects of his Nuntiature laſted all the Ciuill Warr, eſpecially amongſt the Iriſh Rebells [w]. To diſproue the calomny that was rayſed upon the King (probably both by Papiſt and Preſbyterians) he vſed all the meanes he could to ſhew that he was a cordiall Proteſtant, as is ſeene by his mony then coyned. So in the ſeuerall Speeches that he made at the head of his Army, one of them, ſayth my Author, hath this paſſage [x]: ' If I tooke a wife of an other Religion being of the Roman faith, it was

[r] P. 31. [s] P. 32, 33. [t] P. 34. [u] P. 35.
[w] P. 44. [x] P. 80.

with a Univerſall Conſent: If the Lord Roſſetti came to my Court, I uſed him courteouſly, as a noble man and a ſtrainger, as it is fitt for Princes to doe, and yet vpon onely ſuſpition, and not guilt of any wrong to England, I ſent him away.'— My Author in another place[y], ſpeaking of the death of Archbiſhop Laud on the Scaffold, by way of ſcoffe ſayth— *It had bin better for him to haue turned Catholick, and to haue gonn to Rome, as he had binn aduiſed, by the prudent counſell of the Popes zealous Nuntio, Roſetti, now a Cardinall*[z]*!* And, ſpeaking of our Kings death, he hath this paſſage—*His death was foretould (ſo long ago as when he was Prince of Wales) when he was in Spaine, where he, going to viſit a holy Nunne, whoe was much eſteemed for her ſanctity; ſhee foretold him, that, if he did not hearken to the inſpirations of that light which his gardian Angell ſhold inſtruct him in, he ſhold dye a miſerable death, and ruine all his progeny!* This ANGELL was Cardinal ROSSETTI, whoe by his frequent inſpirations, not internall, but to the eare and the eye, by the voice and by writings, by his eloquent and angelicall ſuggeſtions, indeavoured his conuerſion to the Catholik Faith; Card: Roſſetti an *Angel* in practice! Greate Miniſter of the Pope, and an *Angel* by his office, as being a *Nuntio* or *Meſſenger;* a zealous Nuntio! Whence it is no maruell, if what the holy Nunne foretold had its effect!

" Card: Barberino at Rome; This Man his Agent *here;* Card: Mazarino in France; And Gio: Rinuccini Archbiſhop of Firmo in Italy, and the Popes Nuntio in Ireland; were the Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks, that by the helpe of the Jeſuites, in all probabilety, were the men that ruined the King and Kingdome vnder the new name and Cheate of INDEPENDENT; I being tould beyond Sea by Muncks and Fryars that I might heare Maſs where I wold among the *Independents;* that W rd ſignefying onely *Independent as to the Church of England, but Dependent as to the Church of Rome*; and ſo our warr was a warr of Religion to bring in

[y] P. 124. [z] P. 177.

Popery, and the King was a true martyr (that died for his Religion) in reuenge for the death of the Queene of Scotts, his grandmother."

This acute traveller relates alſo that he was at Rome, on his fourth viſit to that city, when Charles the ſecond was reſtored; which event, he ſays, "to my knowledge, was to the great griefe of the Triple Crowne and College of Cardinals, who thought to have binn Maſters of England." In another page he cites the Italian author, already mentioned, to ſhow that "Charles the firſt ſuſpected Mazzarino and the Imbaſſador of France to have had a hand in his troubles."

From theſe communications, which the ſubject of Milton's book induced me to make, I paſs on to notice his next publication in 1649; which was "*Obſervations on the Articles of Peace* between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Iriſh Papiſts and Rebels on the other, &c. And *Animadverſions on the Scotch Preſbytery* at Belfaſt." The new order of things ſeemed to be threatened by the deſertion of the Scotch Preſbyterians to the ſtandard of Ormond; and he made theſe remarks to obviate the danger.

He next entered upon his *Hiſtory of England;* of which he had written four books, when, without expectancy or ſolicitation of preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be *Latin* Secretary; as they had determined neither to write to others abroad, nor to receive any anſwers, except in that language, which was common to them all. Their choice could not have fallen upon a more perfect maſter of Latinity. Dr. Newton wiſhes that ſucceeding princes

had followed this example of Latin correſpondence; becauſe, "[a] in the opinion of very wiſe men, the univerſality of the French language will make way for the univerſality of the French monarchy." It may be added, that Milton himſelf has countenanced the opinion: "Then began the Engliſh to lay aſide their own ancient cuſtoms, and in many things to imitate French manners; the great peers to ſpeak French in their houſes, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility; aſhamed of their own: *a preſage of their ſubjection ſhortly to that people, whoſe* faſhions and *language they affected ſo ſlaviſhly*[b]." Perhaps in the affectation of her faſhions and manners, rather than in the uſage of her language, France may have found, and may yet hope to find, in other countries, no mean auxiliary to her deteſtable aim of univerſal domination. But Britain has ſtood, and may it ſtand to the laſt period of time, "unſhaken, unſeduced," by ſuch degrading imitations in a few faithleſs children. That innocence, and modeſty, and tenderneſs of heart, by which her daughters have ever been diſtinguiſhed; and that well-principled conduct, the true ſpirit of liberty and real love of religion, for which her ſons have been renowned; will never, let us hope, fall victims to the deſigns of a pretended philoſophy, which confounds the diſtinctions of right and wrong; to

— "thoſe new-fangled toys, and trimming ſlight
"Which takes our late fantaſticks with delight[c]."

[a] Life of Milton.

[b] Hiſt. of England, B. vi. edit. 1698, p. 111.

[c] From Milton's maſterly Verſes *At a Vacation Exerciſe in the*

About this time the King's impreſſive book, entitled " Eicon Baſiliké, or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majeſty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," having been publiſhed; Milton was ordered to prepare an anſwer to it. He accordingly printed, by authority, in 1649, his " Eiconoclaſtes," or *the image-breaker*; the purport of the King's book being, in his opinion, [d] " to catch the worthleſs approbation of an inconſtant, irrational, and [e] *image-doting* rabble." Milton's work has been tranſlated into French. It has been aſſerted, but not proved, that Milton together with Bradſhaw prevailed upon the printer to interpolate a prayer, taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, in ſome editions of the King's book. Dr. Newton candidly obſerves, " I cannot but hope and believe, that Milton had a ſoul above being guilty of ſo mean an action to ſerve ſo mean a purpoſe; and there is as little reaſon for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the King for profaning the duty of prayer, ' with

College, addreſſed to the corrupters of his Native Language. See the Notes on ver. 18 of that poem.

[d] Eiconoclaſtes, at the end.

[e] The popularity of the book was unqueſtionably very great. And no wonder. Intereſting as the ſubject is, the ſtyle is alſo extremely elegant as well as forcible. Dr. Symmons in diſcuſſing the controverted point whether the king or biſhop Gauden was the author of it, relates, from the reſt of the biographers, that it received *two anſwers*, viz. the Εἰκὼν ἄκλαστος in 1651, and Vindiciæ Carolinæ in 1692. Several other tracts require to be examined, (and which might be named,) on this ſubject. In particular, for the uſe of thoſe who may hereafter inveſtigate the point, it may be neceſſary to ſtate that the Εἰκὼν ἀληθινὴ written againſt the king, and the Εἰκὼν ἡ πιστὴ for him, (both publiſhed in 1649,) deſerve more attention than hitherto has been beſtowed on them.

the polluted traſh of romances.' For there are not many finer prayers in the beſt books of devotion; and the King might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occaſions, as the [f] Apoſtle might make

[f] This reaſoning (though not noticed by Dr. Newton) occurs in the Εἰκὼν ἄκλαστος, The Image Unbroken, an Anſwer to Milton's book, printed in 1651. The paſſage is worthy of citation. "He [Milton] ſayes, *herein the worſt of kings profeſſing Chriſtianiſme have by farr exceeded him*, and he gives his reaſon, *for that the king hath, as it were, unallowed and unchriſtned by borrowing to a Chriſtian uſe prayers offered to a heathen god.*

"And doth ſaint Paul excede the worſt of kings profeſſing Chriſtianiſme by borrowing to a Chriſtian uſe the words of an heathen philoſopher, and poet? did he thereby unhallow and unchriſtian Scripture?

"His [Milton's] meaning is, as followes afterward, that the king uſed a prayer taken out of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia. After the firſt edition of his Majeſty's booke, the printers, finding the greate vent of them, in the following editions printed prayers, and other things in the king's name, not belonging to the booke. Among theſe prayers, there is a prayer taken out of the Arcadia. That prayer is neither made by a heathen woman, nor to a heathen god, but is compoſed by the author a Chriſtian, without any reference to any heathen deitie; and the author is not thought to unchriſtian prayer by it, the libeller himſelfe ſaying the booke in its kinde is full of worth and wit; but as his outcry hath noe cauſe from the matter, ſo heere is no evidence of the fact, that his Majeſty made uſe of that prayer, or popt into the biſhopp's hands a relique of his exerciſe, though he might warrantably have uſed it, and profeſſed it." P. 82.

Peck aſſures us that he had ſeen an Engliſh edition of the Eicon, printed in 1648, in which this prayer was not to be found. *Deſid. Cur.* ed. fol. vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 48. I have before me a Latin tranſlation of the Eicon by Dr. Earle, printed in 1649, in which alſo we ſeek in vain for this famous prayer. Whether Milton intended to ridicule the king's book by the following remark, I know not; "*there wanted onely rime, and that, they ſay, is beſtowed upon it lately.*" Eiconoclaſtes, ch. vi.

quotations from heathen poems and plays: And it became Milton the leaſt of all men to bring ſuch an accuſation againſt the King, as he was himſelf particularly fond of reading romances, and has made uſe of them in ſome of the beſt and lateſt of his writings." Milton's ſuppoſed impoſture has been alſo diſcredited by Dr. Birch[g].

Having thus diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the advocate of republicaniſm, the Members of the Engliſh council naturally appointed him to vindicate their cauſe againſt the attack of no mean opponent. King Charles the ſecond, being now protected in Holland, had employed Salmaſius, a learned Frenchman, profeſſor of Polite Learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his late father, and of monarchy. "Salmaſius," Dr. Johnſon obſerves, "was a man of ſkill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and ſagacity of emendatory criticiſm, almoſt exceeding all hope of human attainment; and having, by exceſſive praiſes, been confirmed in great confidence of himſelf, though he probably had not much conſidered the principles of ſociety, or the rights of government, undertook the employment without diſtruſt of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 publiſhed *Defenſio Regia*." It is certainly remarkable that Salmaſius, the penſioner to a republick, ſhould write a vindication of monarchy. The States indeed ordered it to be ſuppreſſed. Before he had proceeded in his work, he was thus cautioned by his friend Sarravius: [h] "Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ

[g] See the Inquiry into the Orig. of Par. Loſt, p. 233.

[h] M. Gudii et C. Sarravii, Epiſtolæ. Ultrajecti, 1697. Sarrav. Ep. cxcviii. p. 203.

aggrederis, Defenſionem dico nuper occiſi Britanniarum Regis; maximè cùm veſtri Ordines mediam viam ſecent. Laudo tamen animi tui generoſum propoſitum, quo nefandum ſcelus apertè damnare ſuſtines. Hac tamen te cautione uti opus eſt, ne ita Majeſtatem Regiam extollas, ut erga ſubditos amorem videantur illis gratis largiri." From the correſpondence of this learned Frenchman with Salmaſius we learn ſome curious particulars reſpecting the work, which occaſioned Milton's elaborate anſwer. Sarravius adviſed him to read the king's book, as ſubſervient to his purpoſe; a book, he ſays, which he had read with the higheſt admiration: [i] "adeò in ea [icone] plena omnia bonitatis erga ſubditos eximiæ, et in Deum pietatis. Ex eo libro potueris non pauca depromere Apologetico tuo firmando." After the *Defenſio Regia* had been publiſhed, he informs him of the blame attached to him for not having ſent a copy to the widowed queen of Charles; [k] *who, though poor, would yet have paid the bearer*. Sarravius informs him alſo of [l] reported antagoniſts, long before Milton appeared againſt him. Milton indeed commenced hoſtile operation immediately on the publication of Salmaſius's defence. But the various interruptions, which he mentions in the eloquent Preface to his *Defenſio Populi*, prevented his publick diſplay of oppoſition till the beginning of the year 1651.

[i] Ibid. Ep. ccv. p. 210.

[k] Ibid. Ep. ccxxiii. p. 223. "Vidi nobilem Anglum expoſtulantem, quòd omiſeris unum exemplum mittere ad defuncti Caroli viduam, quæ hîc [Paris.] degit; *Quamvis enim*, inquiebat, *ſit in re minimè lautâ, tamen potuiſſe ſolvere pretium tabellarii, qui illud attuliſſet.*"

[l] Ibid. Ep. ccxxxvii. p. 235.

Hobbes is ſaid to have declared himſelf unable to [m] decide whoſe language was beſt, or whoſe arguments were worſt. In Dr. Johnſon's opinion, Milton's periods were ſmoother, neater, and more pointed; but he delights himſelf with teazing his adverſary, as much as with confuting him. Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Toulouſe. But this procured it more readers. From a letter of Nicholas Heinſius to Iſaac Voſſius it appears to have been tranſlated into Dutch, and to have been expected alſo in a French dreſs. Into our own language it was tranſlated, at the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, by Mr. Waſhington of the Temple. Salmaſius's book attracted much leſs notice. It has appeared indeed in

[m] "Uterque, ſi Hobbio fides, Latino inſignis, at rationibus vacuus." Comm. de Rebell. Angl. ab an. 1640, &c. à R. Manlio, Eq. Aur. 8vo. 1686. lib. ii. p. 226.

It ſeems that they accuſed each other of grammatical blunders. I have heard of a copy of Salmaſius's book, the margins of which are ſaid to be decorated with barbariſms and ſoleciſms detected by Milton. Without weighing the demerits of this kind, I will only obſerve, that Milton's criticiſms appear to have occaſioned the following ſarcaſm of the witty Butler. See Butler's Remains, edit. Thyer, vol. i. p. 220.

—— ſome polemics uſe to draw their ſwords
Againſt the language only and the words;
As he who fought at barriers with Salmaſius,
Engag'd with nothing but his ſtyle and phraſes,
Wav'd to aſſert the murder of a prince,
The author of falſe Latin to convince;
But laid the merits of the cauſe aſide,
By thoſe that underſtood them to be try'd;
And counted breaking Priſcian's head a thing
More capital than to behead a king;
For which he has been admir'd by all the learn'd
Of knaves concern'd, and pedants unconcern'd!

different forms, both Latin and French; and, as it ſhould ſeem from the correſpondence of Sarravius, [n] in ſome editions with ſlight variations. Salmaſius afterwards endeavoured to defend his cauſe, according to the teſtimony of Iſaac Voſſius, by a moſt unjuſtifiable attack upon the moral character of Milton while he reſided in Italy: Both combatants indeed had betrayed too much perſonal malevolence: But it is to the diſgrace of Salmaſius that he ſhould ſo far have forgotten himſelf as to confound the champion with the aſſaſſin. Milton, for his performance, was complimented [o] at home by the viſits or invitations of all the foreign miniſters at London, as well as by the more ſolid approbation of his employers in the preſent of a thouſand pounds; and by encomiaſtick letters from the moſt celebrated ſcholars abroad. Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, is ſaid to have treated the *defender of monarchy* with coldneſs, after having read the *Defence of the People:* And Dr. Newton adds that Salmaſius was diſmiſſed, from her Court, with contempt. He was diſmiſſed, or rather retired, not with degradation, but, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves, with a train of attendance ſcarcely leſs than regal. Probably for the mean pleaſure of tormenting Salmaſius, this capricious monarch had commended Milton. After Salmaſius's death, ſhe

[n] Ibid. Ep. ccxxxvi. p. 234.

[o] He perhaps loſt the friendſhip of others on this occaſion. Certain it ſeems that the amiable and learned Earl of Bridgewater, who had performed the part of the Firſt Brother in his *Comus*, now diſdained his acquaintance. On the title-page of the *Defenſio*, now in the Marquis of Stafford's poſſeſſion, that Nobleman has written, "*Liber igne, Author furcâ, digniſſimi.*"

aſſured his widow, by letter, that ſhe had eſteemed him as a father, and would never ceaſe to honour his memory. Salmaſius died in 1653 at Spa; having prepared a reply to Milton, without books, and by the ſole help of memory [p]; which, left as it was unfiniſhed, was [q] publiſhed by his ſon, with a dedication to the King, at the Reſtoration: It is more diſtinguiſhed for abuſe than argument.

It muſt not be omitted that Salmaſius, in his *Defenſio Regia*, had preſſed hard upon his adverſary in a particular point; and that Milton, to maintain the point, was tempted to put on the fragile armour of untruth. A learned prelate, in modern times, has detected this diminiſhed brightneſs of Milton.

"[r] When Salmaſius upbraided Cromwell's faction with the tenets of the Browniſts, the choſen advocate of that execrable faction [Milton] replied, that, if *they* were Browniſts, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Zuinglius, and all the moſt celebrated theologians of the Orthodox, muſt be included in the ſame reproach. A groſſer falſhood, as far as Luther, Calvin, and many others are concerned, never fell from the unprincipled pen of a party writer. However ſedition might be a part of the puritanick Creed, the general faith of the Reformers rejects the infamous alliance."

Dr. Symmons, who to the late edition of [s] Milton's Proſe Works has prefixed a life of the author, is

[p] Vita et Epiſt. Cl. Salmaſii, ab. Ant. Clementio, 1656. Vit. p. liii.

[q] It appears to have been tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed at London in 1660. See biſhop Kennet's Regiſter, p. 270. "Salmaſius's Diſſection and Confutation of Milton."

[r] Appendix to Biſhop Watſon's Sermon before the Houſe of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793, p. 38.

[s] Publiſhed in 1806.

indignant at this accuſation; conceding indeed to the "[t] liberal and worthy prelate very unfeigned reſpect," but at the ſame time "proteſting againſt the raſhneſs which incited him to this violent paragraph; and with ſingular humanity deploring the "[u] unhappy inſertion" of it, preceded by my "harſh imputation," into this account of the great poet. No leſs deſirous than Dr. Symmons to avoid miſrepreſentation in ſpeaking of Milton, I will copy what he has advanced in maintenance of his pity and indignation, and with a brief reply leave the *charge of raſhneſs* to be appropriated as impartiality may direct.

"[x] To refute this incautious charge," ſays Dr. Symmons, "nothing more can be neceſſary than the production of the paſſage in Milton's work, to which the reference is made. It concludes the fifth chapter of the *Defenſio pro Populo Anglicano*, and it ſtands independently of any thing which precedes it. 'Quereris enim poſtremis hiſce ſeculis diſciplinæ vigorem laxatum, regulam corruptam,' *quod uni ſcilicet tyranno, cunctis legibus ſoluto, diſciplinam omnem laxare, mores omnium corrumpere, impunè non liceat. Hanc doctrinam* 'Bruniſtas inter reformatos' *introduxiſſe ais: Ita Lutherus, Calvinus, Zuinglius, Bucerus, et Orthodoxorum quotquot celeberrimi theologi fuere, tuo judicio Bruniſtæ ſunt. Quo æquiore animo tua maledicta perferunt Angli, cum in eccleſiæ doctores præſantiſſimos, totamque adeò eccleſiam reformatam, iiſdem propè contumeliis debacchari te audiant.* 'You complain,' addreſſing himſelf to Salmaſius, ſays Milton, 'that in this laſt age the vigour of diſcipline is impaired and its right rule corrupted, becauſe truly it is not in the power of one deſpot, releaſed himſelf from the controll of all law, to relax with impunity the general diſcipline and to corrupt the morals of all. This doctrine, as you ſay, was firſt introduced among the reformed by the Browniſts; ſo that, by your deciſion, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer, and all the

[t] Life, note, p. 321. [u] Ibid. p. 320. [x] Ibid. 321.

moſt celebrated of the orthodox divines are included among the Browniſts. The Engliſh, therefore, ſupport your calumnies with the greater equanimity, when they hear you thus furious in your invectives againſt the moſt admirable doctors, and conſequently againſt the body itſelf of the reformed church.'—If we admit the premiſes of Milton, can we refuſe our aſſent to his concluſion? If to contend for liberty againſt the tyranny of a ſingle perſon be the diſtinction of a Browniſt, the firſt reformers were, beyond all queſtion, Browniſts; for one of the principal objects of their liberal and enlightened contention was to break the deſpotiſm of the Court of Rome. Milton aſſerts nothing but the truth; and he is juſtified in bringing it forward by that part of his adverſary's work to which he replies. The firſt reformers were not only ſtrenuous in their oppoſition to the papal deſpotiſm, but were on all occaſions warm advocates and ſupporters of the civil liberties of man."——

So then the prelate is refuted by the repreſentation, that Milton is ſpeaking only of contending for liberty againſt the tyranny of a ſingle perſon! I cannot yield to this a pretence of vindicating Milton: nor may I withhold Salmaſius's own words. "[y] Poſtremis vero ſæculis UT IN ALIIS REBUS *ita et in hac* mores, ut jam dictum, cum temporibus mutati ſunt, diſciplinæ vigor laxatus eſt, et regula corrupta. Quinimo extitere tandem peſtes Rerum publicarum, regumque μάσιγες, et omnis à Deo ordinatæ poteſtatis hoſtes, ſophiſtæ quidam qui contrariam illi, quæ à Chriſto tradita eſt, *doctrinam* introduxerunt *de occidendis quaſi jure regibus ſi diſplicerent ſubjectis.* Tales in Pontificiis Jeſuitæ, inter Reformatos qui vocantur[z] INDEPENDENTES et *Bruniſtæ*." Milton's

[y] Defenſio Regia, edit. 12mo. 1650, p. 166.

[z] See this point illuſtrated, in the preſent account, p. 61, & ſeq. Salmaſius ſpeaks correctly.

reply is unqueſtionably evaſive. It is an effort to vindicate his own party "[a] upon the ſame principles," as Dr. Watkins has well obſerved, "which induced the reformers to ſeparate from the Church of Rome; an artful manœuvre to put rebellion againſt the king, and the reformation from popery, upon the ſame footing."

That the death of Salmaſius was haſtened by the neglect which he is ſaid to have experienced, on the appearance of Milton's book, is by no means clear. His biographer, Clementius, gives a diſtinct account of the diſorder which terminated his days, and to which he had long been ſubject, the gout. The ſuppoſed credit of deſtroying a[b] literary antagoniſt may indeed be deducted, without injury, from the achievements of Milton.

The firſt reply to Milton's *Defenſio Populi* was publiſhed in the ſame year, and was entitled "Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis *Polypragmatici* (alias *Miltoni* Angli) Defenſionem deſtructivam Regis et Populi." The author was unknown. Milton directed his younger nephew to anſwer it, who poſſibly prepared the firſt draught of a reply; which, before it went to preſs, was ſo carefully examined and corrected by Milton, that it may

[a] Characteriſtic Anecdotes of men of learning and genius, &c. 8vo. 1808, p. 214.

[b] Bentley juſtly obſerves, in the Preface to his Diſſertation on Phalaris, that "he muſt be a young writer, and a young reader too, that believes Milton and Petavius had themſelves as mean thoughts of Salmaſius, as they endeavour to make others have." Milton could once avow his reſpectful opinion of the "*induſtry of the learned Salmaſius.*" Reaſon of Ch. Gov. B. i. Ch. vi.

be conſidered almoſt as his own performance, although denominated "Johannis *Philippi* Angli Reſponſio ad Apologiam anonymi cujuſdam tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano infantiſſimam." This piece appeared in 1652. Biſhop Bramhall is the ideal enemy with whom Phillips here encounters. Of ſo contemptible and barbarous a compoſition as the *Apologia* that learned prelate could not be the author. Since the firſt edition of this account of Milton was publiſhed, I have indeed diſcovered the real author; and the imputation whether of Milton, or his nephew, applied to this excellent biſhop, muſt never more be named. Dr. Symmons is wholly miſtaken in his ſuppoſed diſcovery of the author. I have the authority alſo of biſhop Bramhall himſelf on my ſide [c].

[c] From the following work we learn the name of the author of the *Apologia*: "Polemica ſive Supplementum ad Apologiam anonymam pro Rege et populo Anglicano, adverſus Jo: Miltoni Defenſionem populi Anglicani, &c. Per *Io: Rowlandum*, Paſtorem Anglicum. 1653." 12mo. In p. 47, the author begins to ſpeak of his former book, and of himſelf: "Æſtimantur tamen plerumque libri authorum vel patronorum titulis, ut divites gemmis,

——— 'cui annulus ingens,
——— 'atque ideò pluris quàm Cottus agebat.'

Et niſi typographis hoc ſupplementum vili veniſſet, qui egenti et nudo nullam laboris mei mercedem porrigere auſi ſunt, vel prælî impenſas facere, ſuo lucro metuentes, diu antehac *hanc ſecundam Apologiam* publici juris feciſſem. Sed ſi Salmaſius, vel Heinſius, vel quis magni nominis *meæ* præfigeretur, ſperno ſpretus, cum Heinſii Socratis pulchro fortaſſe pulchritudine certaret. Sed *meam* intra anni ſpatium decorticare periculum fecit *quidam Johannes, an alter et idem Miltonus? Philippus, vel Pſeudo Philippus?* cui ratio non eſt quod ipſe ſuccenſerem, qui, *errando circa authorem Apologiæ, me dignitate epiſcopali honoravit*,

But it was thought ſubſervient perhaps to the conſequence of the cauſe, to exhibit its nameleſs opponent as a man of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents. In this year Sir Robert Filmer's Animadverſions on Milton's *Defenſio*, Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and Grotius's *De Jure Belli*, were likewiſe publiſhed. They were unnoticed by Milton. In 1652 alſo, the following publication appeared in [d] Dublin againſt him: "Carolus I. à ſecuri et calamo *Miltoni* vindicatus." And in 1653,

et Epiſcopum Dirræum, aulicorum ſacerdotum primipilum, omni vitiorum labe maculavit.—Quoad cætera, *Philippus*, levis veles, in tricis et quiſquiliis ferè totum ſe exercet circa linguæ Latinæ puritatem, cum mihi à 14 annis nec grammatica nec dictionarium fuerit, quàm quæ cerebro meo mecum circumferre poſſim; et tamen hiſce phantaſmatibus, verbis, et tropis incauti lectores capiuntur, tanquàm Priſciani vel Deſpauterij cauſa ageretur, qui, quoniam in re tam feriâ tam puerilitèr ineptit, non aliud à me reſponſum expectabit quàm quod hoc diſticho comprehendam:

Phy nota fœtoris Lippus malus omnibus horis,
Et malus et Lippus, totus malus ergo Philippus.

Non ſum enim Johannes Bramalius Epiſcopus Dirræus aulicus, ſed *Johannes Rowlandus* Anglicus, Paſtor Eccleſiæ particularis, et tamen nominis mei me non pudet, quod in Eccleſiæ orthodoxum, olim in proverbium ceſſit, *Rowlandus pro Olivero*, &c." Cap. 5. Ad fin.—I have now to communicate biſhop Bramhall's own remark, obligingly tranſmitted to me from Ireland by the Rev. Edward Berwick, (of Eſker near Leixlip,) who, in looking over ſome original letters of the biſhop, diſcovered the information in one of them addreſſed to his ſon under an aſſumed name, and dated at Antwerpe in May 1654. "That ſilly book which he [Milton] aſcribes to me, was written by one John Rowland, who ſince hath replied upon him. I never read a word either of the firſt book or of the replie in my life."

[d] This is noticed in Rawlinſon's *Method of ſtudying Hiſtory*, vol. ii. p. 475. I have ſought for it in vain.

at Leyden, "Caſpari Ziegleri Lipſienſis circa Regicidium Anglorum exercitationes. Accedit Jacobi Schalleri Diſſertatio ad loca quædam *Miltoni.*" Zeigler has thought proper thus to inſult the great poet: "Jam verò, in dictis S. Scripturæ interpolandis et enervandis, quantus artifex eſt Miltonus! *Jeſuitis felicior, ipſo Diabolo audacior!*" Ad Lectorem Benevolum!! Schaller is not ſo much diſpoſed to abuſe.

Milton, when he was firſt made Latin Secretary, removed from his houſe in Holborn to lodgings in the vicinity of Whitehall; and was at length fixed, with his family, in apartments prepared for him in Scotland-yard; where he loſt an infant ſon. His health being impaired, he choſe, however, in 1652, a more airy ſituation; and occupied a garden-houſe in Petty-France, Weſtminſter, which opened into St. James's Park; in which he continued till within a few weeks of the Reſtoration. In this abode he had not been ſettled long, before he loſt his firſt wife in child-bed; who left him three daughters. He afterwards married Catherine, the daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney. She alſo died in child-bed of a daughter, and within [c] a year after their marriage. Milton honoured her memory, and ſoothed his own ſenſibility, in a tender Sonnet.

He had become utterly blind two or three years before his ſecond marriage; having loſt the uſe of his left eye in 1651, and, according to his biographers,

[c] "Mrs. Catharine Milton, wife to John Milton, Eſq. buried Feb. 10, 1657." Biſhop Kennet's MS. Collections for St. Margaret's Pariſh, Weſtminſter, cited by Mr. Malcolm in his entertaining Hiſt. of London, 4to. vol. 4. p. 128.

that of the other in 1654. But I am inclined to ſuppoſe, that he experienced the misfortune of total darkneſs before the latter date. For, in Thurloe's *State-Papers*, there is the following paſſage in a letter from the Hague, dated 20. Junii, 1653. "[f] Vous aves en Angleterre *un aveugle* nommé Milton, qui a le renom d' avoir bien eſcrit."

His enemies meanly triumphed in his blindneſs; and imputed it as a judgement from heaven upon him for writing againſt the King. But his eyes had been gradually failing long before, owing to the midnight ſtudies of his youth. He had been cautioned by his phyſicians, while he was writing his *Defence of the People*, to deſiſt from the taſk, if he valued the preſervation of his ſight; but he was undiſmayed by their opinion, and did not heſitate to prefer what he thought his duty to his eyes; and, after their orbs were quenched, he nobly tells us, that, while he deſpiſed the reſentment of thoſe who rebuked his darkneſs, he did not want the charity to forgive them. At the deſire of his friend Leonard Philaras, a celebrated Athenian, and ambaſſadour from the Duke of Parma at Paris, (who had written an encomium of his *Defence*,) he ſent him a particular account of his calamity; not without an expectation, which alas! was never gratified, of deriving benefit from the opinion of Thevenot, a phyſician particularly diſtinguiſhed as an oculiſt. Milton's curious and admirable letter, which is the fifteenth of his Latin epiſtles, has been tranſlated by Mr. Richardſon and Mr. Hayley. In the more attractive language of the latter, I ſubmit it to the reader.

[f] Vol. i. p. 281.

" As I have cheriſhed from my childhood (if ever mortal did) a reverential fondneſs for the Grecian name, and for your native Athens in particular, ſo have I continually perſuaded myſelf, that at ſome period I ſhould receive from that city a very ſignal return for my benevolent regard: nor has the ancient genius of your moſt noble country failed to realize my preſage; he has given me in you an Attick brother, and one moſt tenderly attached to me. Though I was known to you only by my writings, and though your reſidence was far diſtant from mine, you firſt addreſſed me in the moſt engaging terms by letter; and afterwards coming unexpectedly to London, and viſiting the ſtranger, who had no eyes to ſee you, continued your kindneſs to me under that calamity, which can render me a more eligible friend to no one, and to many, perhaps, may make me an object of diſregard.

" Since, therefore, you requeſt me not to reject all hope of recovering my ſight, as you have an intimate friend at Paris, in Thevenot the phyſician, who excels particularly in relieving ocular complaints, and whom you wiſh to conſult concerning my eyes, after receiving from me ſuch an account as may enable him to underſtand the ſource and ſymptoms of my diſorder, I will certainly follow your kind ſuggeſtion, that I may not appear to reject aſſiſtance thus offered me, perhaps providentially.

" It is about ten years, I think, ſince I perceived my ſight to grow weak and dim, finding at the ſame time my inteſtines afflicted with flatulence and oppreſſion.

" Even in the morning, if I began as uſual to read, my eyes immediately ſuffered pain, and ſeemed to ſhrink from reading, but, after ſome moderate bodily exerciſe, were refreſhed; whenever I looked at a candle I ſaw a ſort of iris around it. Not long afterwards, on the left ſide of my left eye (which began to fail ſome years before the other) a darkneſs aroſe, that hid from me all things on that ſide;—if I chanced to cloſe my right eye, whatever was before me ſeemed diminiſhed.—In the laſt three years, as my remaining eye failed by degrees ſome months before my ſight was utterly

gone, all things that I could diſcern, though I moved not myſelf, appeared to fluctuate, now to the right, now to the left. Obſtinate vapours ſeem to have ſettled all over my forehead and my temples, overwhelming my eyes with a ſort of ſleepy heavineſs, eſpecially after food, till the evening; ſo that I frequently recollect the condition of the prophet Phineus in the Argonauticks:

——— ‘ Him vapours dark
‘ Envelop’d, and the earth appeared to roll
‘ Beneath him, ſinking in a lifeleſs trance.’

But I ſhould not omit to ſay, that while I had ſome little ſight remaining, as ſoon as I went to bed, and reclined on either ſide, a copious light uſed to dart from my cloſed eyes; then, as my ſight grew daily leſs, darker colours ſeemed to burſt forth with vehemence, and a kind of internal noiſe; but now, as if every thing lucid were extinguiſhed, blackneſs, either abſolute or chequered, and interwoven as it were with aſh-colour, is accuſtomed to pour itſelf on my eyes; yet the darkneſs perpetually before them, as well during the night as in the day, ſeems always approaching rather to white than to black, admitting, as the eye rolls, a minute portion of light as through a crevice.

“ Though from your phyſician ſuch a portion of hope alſo may ariſe, yet, as under an evil that admits no cure, I regulate and tranquillize my mind, often reflecting, that ſince the days of darkneſs allotted to each, as the wiſe man reminds us, are many, hitherto my darkneſs, by the ſingular mercy of God, with the aid of ſtudy, leiſure, and the kind converſation of my friends, is much leſs oppreſſive than the deadly darkneſs to which he alludes. For if, as it is written, man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God, why ſhould not a man acquieſce even in this? not thinking that he can derive light from his eyes alone, but eſteeming himſelf ſufficiently enlightened by the conduct or providence of God.

“ As long therefore, as he looks forward, and provides for me as he does, and leads me backward and forward by the

hand, as it were, through my whole life, ſhall I not cheerfully bid my eyes keep holiday, ſince ſuch appears to be his pleaſure? But whatever may be the event of your kindneſs, my dear Philaras, with a mind not leſs reſolute and firm than if I were Lynceus himſelf, I bid you farewell. *Weſtminſter*, Sept. 28, 1654."

Thus "content, though blind," he continued to exerciſe his abilities with his accuſtomed animation. For, as Dr. Johnſon remarks, his mind was too eager to be diverted, and too ſtrong to be ſubdued. An aſſiſtant, however, was allowed him in his office of Latin Secretary; and his ſalary was continued. In 1654, he publiſhed his "Defenſio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra infamem libellum anonymum, cui titulus, *Regii ſanguinis clamor ad coelum adverſus parricidas Anglicanos*." Of the book, which excited this reply, the author was Peter du Moulin the younger, afterwards prebendary of Canterbury. He had tranſmitted his papers to Salmaſius, by whom they were entruſted, for publication, to Alexander Morus. Du Moulin had been already in too much danger not to know the neceſſity of concealment. In the late King's ſervice he had written his "Apologie de la Religion Reformée, et de la Monarchie, et de l'Egliſe d'Angleterre, &c." which, he has himſelf recorded, "[2] was begun at York, during the ſiege, in a roome whoſe chimney was beaten downe by the cannon while I was at my work; and, after the ſiege and my expulſion from the rectory at Whel-

[2] From the copy of his book in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, numbered L. iv. 50.; the firſt five leaves of which contain a manuſcript relation, written with his own hand, of his ſervices in the cauſe of royalty.

drake, it was finifht in an underground cellar, *where I lay hid to auoyd warrants that were out againſt me from Committees to apprehend me and carry me priſoner to Hull.*—Much about the ſame time I ſet out my Latin poeme *Eccleſiæ Gemitus* with a long epiſtle to all Chriſtians in defence of the King and the Church of England; and two years after *Clamor regii ſanguinis ad cœlum.*" Here is a confirmation then, if confirmation were [h] wanting, that Milton had miſtaken the publiſher for the author. Milton, in his *Second Defence*, has treated Morus with equal ſeverity and ridicule. Morus replied in his *Fides Publica*, into which were interwoven, with the vain hope of blunting the keenneſs of Milton's ſatire, teſtimonies of character, and a diſavowal of the book. Du Moulin was now again in great danger. His diſmayed publiſher gave his enemies the means of diſcovering him; but they ſuffered him to eſcape, rather than they would publickly convict Milton of his errour. Milton, on being informed that Du Moulin, and not Morus, was the author of the *Clamor*, is ſaid to have replied, "[i] Well! that was all one, he having writt it [his *Second Defence*], it ſhould goe into the world; one of them was as bad as the other." Morus, however, is ſtill the object of his attack in his *Authoris pro ſe Defenſio*, publiſhed in 1655, as a reply to the *Fides Publica*. Morus ventured to rejoin in a *Supplementum*, which was ſoon ſilenced by a brief *Reſponſio* from Milton; and the controverſy cloſed.

[h] See the Note on the Epigram *In Morum*.

[i] Aubrey's MS.

He now gave himſelf up to his private ſtudies, and to the duties of his office. As Latin Secretary, he is juſtly ſuppoſed to have written the Protector's Declaration of the reaſons for a war with Spain, in 1655. The peculiar elegance of the ſtyle beſpeaks the author. He had before addreſſed, in the name of Cromwell, the celebrated Latin verſes to Chriſtina, queen of Sweden. For Milton, rather than Marvell, I think, has the faireſt pretenſions to be their owner [k].

As Milton is believed [l] to have continued his friendſhip for Henry Lawes, the muſician, throughout the Rebellion, I am led to think that he now often experienced a pleaſing relaxation from buſineſs and ſtudy in liſtening to the "ſoft pipe, and ſmooth-dittied ſong," of his early acquaintance. Lawes, who was acquainted with the principal poets of his time, and was honoured with many of their productions for the uſe of his lyre, had now publiſhed two *Books of Ayres;* in the latter of which, dated 1655, is a ballad, which "The Table, with the names of thoſe who were the Authors of the Verſes," aſcribes to "Mr. I. M. p. 37." The ballad conſiſts of the firſt and laſt ſextains of a little poem, which had appeared not long before in an edition of Shakſpeare's poems; at the end of which is "An Addition of ſome excellent poems, to thoſe precedent of renowned Shakſpeare, *by other Gentlemen;*" but theſe verſes are without any ſignature, while Milton's epitaph on Shakſpeare, in the ſame volume, is ſubſcribed I. M.

[k] See the Notes on Par. Reg. B. ii. 481, and on the Verſes to Chriſtina.

[l] Account of Henry Lawes, prefixed to *Comus.*

It may not perhaps ſeem improbable, that Milton might formerly have acknowledged to Lawes this production of his earlier days, which yet he had not thought worthy of admiſſion into his collection of poems. The little poem ſhows at leaſt a remarkable familiarity with Sylveſter's *Du Bartas;* a book, in which Milton was [m] aſſuredly converſant. I ſubmit the verſes, with deference, to the determination of the reader.

" *Lavinia walking in a froſty morning.*

" I' the non-age of a winter's day,
" Lavinia, glorious as May,
" To give the morne an [n] earlier birth,
" Paced a mile of cruſted earth,
" [o] When each place, by which ſhe came,
" From her veines conceiv'd a flame.
" The amorous plants began to ſtrive,
" Which ſhould firſt be ſenſitive;
" Every *hoary-headed twigge*
" *Dropp'd his ſnowy perriwigge,*
" *And each bough his icy beard:*
" On either ſide his walkes were heard
" Whiſpers of decrepit wood,
" Calling to their rootes for blood:
" The gentle ſoyle did mildly greete
" The welcome kiſſes of her feete;
" And, to retaine ſuch a treaſure,
" Like wax diſſolving, took her meaſure.
" Lavinia ſtood amaz'd to ſee
" Things of yearly [p] certaintie

[m] See the Inquiry into the *Origin of Par. Loſt.*
[n] In Lawes's copy, " an *eaſier* birth."
[o] In Lawes's copy, " *Where every* place."
[p] In Lawes's copy, " yearly *conſtancie.*"

" Thus to rebel againſt their ſeaſon:
" And, though a ſtranger to the reaſon,
" [q] Back retiring quench'd their heate,
" And Winter [r] tooke his former ſeate."

It has been already obſerved, that Milton was ſupplied with an aſſiſtant in his office of Secretary. In 1657 Andrew Marvell was aſſociated with him in this duty; before which time, Marvell aſſerts that he " [s] never had any, not the remoteſt, relation to publick matters, nor correſpondence with the perſons then predominant;" but that he then " enter'd into an imployment, for which he was not altogether improper, and which he conſider'd to be the moſt innocent and inoffenſive toward his Majeſties affairs of any in *that uſurped and irregular Government to which all men were then expoſed.* And this he accordingly diſcharg'd without diſobliging any one perſon: there having been opportunity and endeavours, ſince his Majeſties happy return, to have diſcover'd had it been otherwiſe." So manly an avowal cannot but command reſpect.—Of Marvell's regard for Milton, the verſes, uſually prefixed to *Paradiſe Loſt*, are an elegant teſtimony. In the volume, from which I have made the preceding citation, are ſeveral anecdotes of Milton and his friends, not generally known, as Mr. Warton long ſince obſerved. This ſecond part of Marvell's *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd*, publiſhed in 1673, is an attack on Dr. Samuel Parker, well known for his tergiverſation with the times; and of whom it was

[q] In Lawes's copy, " Back *returning* quench'd *the* heat."

[r] In Lawes's copy, " And Winter *kept*."

[s] Rehearſall Tranſpros'd, Sec. Part, p. 127.

once ſaid that he "[1] had wit enough to colour any thing though never ſo foule, and impudence enough to affirm any thing though never ſo falſe." When Marvell attacked him with ſarcaſtick and ſucceſsful raillery, Parker was an antipuritan in the extreme. Marvell thus expreſſes his honeſt indignation againſt Parker for traducing his friend Milton, p. 377.

"You do three times at leaſt in your *Reproof*, and in your *Tranſproſer Rehears'd* well nigh half the book thorow, run upon an author J. M., which does not a little offend me. For why ſhould any other man's reputation ſuffer in a conteſt betwixt you and me? But it is becauſe you reſolved to ſuſpect that *he* had an hand in my former book, [the firſt part of *The Rehearſall*, publiſhed in 1672,] wherein, whether you deceive yourſelf or no, you deceive others extreamly. For by chance I had not ſeen him of two years before; but, after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either viſiting or ſending to him, leſt I ſhould any way involve him in my conſequences. And you might have underſtood, or I am ſure your friend, the author of the *Common Places*, could have told you, (he too had a flaſh at J. M. upon my account,) that had *he* took you in hand, you would have had cauſe to repent the occaſion, and not eſcaped ſo eaſily as you did under my *Tranſproſal*.—But becauſe in your 115. p. you are ſo particular *you know a friend of ours*, &c. intending THAT J. M. and his anſwer to Salmaſius, I think it here ſeaſonable to acquit my promiſe to you in giving the reader a ſhort trouble concerning my firſt acquaintance with you. J. M. was, and is, a man of as great learning and ſharpneſs of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be toſſed on the wrong ſide; and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatiſes.—At his majeſty's happy return, J. M. did partake, as you yourſelf did, for all your huffing, of his royal clemency, and has ever ſince ex-

[1] Preface to "A Caveat to the Cavaliers, 1661."

piated himſelf in a retired ſilence. It was after that, I well remember it, that, being one day at his houſe, I there firſt met you, and accidentally.—Then it was, when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Moreſields, aſtrologizing upon the duration of his majeſty's government, that you frequented J. M. inceſſantly, and haunted his houſe day by day. What diſcourſes you there uſed, he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the leaſt provoked you, for you to inſult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your ſcaramuccios, and in your own perſon, as a ſchoolmaſter, who was born and hath lived more ingenuouſly and liberally than yourſelf; to have done all this, and lay at laſt my ſimple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourſelf better, which you had ſo eaſy an opportunity to do:—it is inhumanly and inhoſpitably done; and will, I hope, be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not ſay) ſuch a Judas, but a man that creeps into all companies to jeer, trepan, and betray them."

Marvell, however, was miſtaken in attributing the *Tranſproſer Rehears'd* to Parker; which, as Mr. Warton remarks, was written by R. Leigh, formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, but then a player. It was printed at Oxford in 1673, "*for the Aſſignes of Hugo Grotius, and Jacob Van Harmine, on the North-ſide of the Lake-Lemane!*" A more ſcurrilous or indecent publication has ſeldom diſgraced the preſs. The contemptible writer ridicules the *Paridiſe Loſt*, becauſe it is written *in blank verſe*, p. 30; and for the ſame reaſon calls Milton a *ſchiſmatick in poetry*, p. 43. He deſcribes the poet as *groping for a beam of light* in that ſublime apoſtrophe, "*Hail, holy Light*, &c." p. 43. And he reproaches him as *a Latin Secretary and an Engliſh Schoolmaſter*, p. 128. With the obſcenities of this ſcribbler I will not ſoil theſe pages. I muſt add that

the *Reproof* in which Milton is called *a friend of ours*, was certainly written by Parker. But Parker's "friendly voice" was afterwards changed. Neither Milton nor Marvell, however, lived to read the abuſe, which Parker beſtowed on both of them in his poſthumous *Commentarii ſui temporis*; of which Mr. Warton has given the following tranſlated paſſage, relating to the pamphleteers againſt the royal party at Cromwell's acceſſion.

"Among theſe calumniators was a raſcal, one Marvell. As he had ſpent his youth in debauchery, ſo, from natural petulance, he became the tool of faction in the quality of ſatyriſt: yet with more ſcurrility than wit, and with a mediocrity of talents, but not of ill-nature. Turned out of doors by his father, expelled the univerſity, a vagabond, a ragged and hungry poetaſter, kicked and cudgelled in every tavern, he was daily chaſtiſed for his impudence. At length he was made under ſecretary to Cromwell, by the procuration of Milton, to whom he was a very acceptable character, on account of a ſimilar malevolence of diſpoſition, &c." B. iv. p. 275.

This paſſage was perhaps written about the year 1680. *Paradiſe Loſt*, Mr. Warton adds, had now been publiſhed thirteen years, and its excellencies muſt have been fully eſtimated and ſufficiently known; yet in ſuch terms of contempt, or rather neglect, was its author now deſcribed, by a popular writer, certainly a man of learning, and very ſoon afterwards a biſhop. Parker became indeed a biſhop; but he was alſo the obtruded preſident of Magdalen College, Oxford; the minion of a popiſh king.

From this account reſpecting Milton, and his aſſociate in office, we may return to the employment of the great poet, after the days of controverſy were

no more. His time now appears to have been devoted to the accompliſhment of three literary projects; the hiſtory of his country, an epick poem, and a new dictionary of the Latin tongue. Of this laſt work the preparations, which he had made long before, and had occaſionally continued till his death, were found ſo diſcompoſed and deficient, as Phillips relates, that they could not be fitted for the preſs. From theſe preparations, however, perhaps originated the Cambridge Dictionary, publiſhed in 1693; the editors of which acknowledge, that "they made three large folio volumes, containing a collection out of all the beſt and pureſt Roman authors." They were probably communicated by Phillips, who is ſuppoſed to have been the laſt poſſeſſour of theſe claſſical accumulations.

In the mean time Milton amuſed himſelf with the publication of ſmaller productions; of a manuſcript by Ralegh, entitled *The Cabinet Council*, in 1658; and of two tracts, in the ſucceeding year; the firſt relating to the *Civil Power in Eccleſiaſtical Caſes*, the laſt to *The Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church*. It muſt here be noticed, as another proof of his ſtudious diſpoſition, that he had collected a variety of State Papers, from the death of the King to the preſent period, probably with a view to render them ſubſervient to ſome particular or general hiſtory of his times. They were publiſhed in 1743 with the following title: "Original Letters and Papers of State, addreſſed to Oliver Cromwell, concerning the Affairs of Great Britain. From the year 1649 to 1658. Found among the Political Collections of Mr. John Milton. Now firſt publiſhed from the

Originals. By John Nickolls, Jun. Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London." They had been once in the poſſeſſion of Ellwood. In this collection are two important letters written by Milton's friend, Colonel Overton; and a character, drawn by Captain Biſhope, of another of Milton's particular friends, the lord preſident Bradſhaw; harmonizing, in reſpect to perſonal qualities, with his own moſt eloquent eulogy of that regicide. The collection abounds alſo with choice effuſions of fanatick zeal, in addreſſes to Cromwell and other ſupporters of what Milton terms [a] *The Good Old Cauſe!* In a letter to Colonel Robert Overton, p. 161, is the following paſſage: "Sir, your friends beſeech you *to be much in the mount with God*, who is the beſt counſeler, and will ther be ſeen: This is no time to conſult with fleſh and blood." Then follows almoſt immediately an unfortunate anticlimax to ſuch impreſſive eloquence, compenſated inſtantaneouſly, however, by the writer's blazing reſumption of his favourite ſubject! "*Sir, there is one Miſs Dawſon preſents her ſervice to you.* To-morrow is kept a very ſolom day among ſom heer, faſting and praiers; ſum devills are no other way caſt out!"

Oliver being dead, and Richard being obliged to reſign the protectorſhip, Milton, upon the diſſolution of the parliament by the army, wrote *A Letter concerning the ruptures of the Commonwealth.* With a view to prevent the reſtoration of kingly government, other republican pens were alſo buſily employed. Not to mention the ſtrenuous exertions of

[a] Proſe-Works, vol. ii. p. 797. edit. 1698.

Harrington, I have now before me "Idea Democratica, or a Commonweal Platform," and "A Model of a Democraticall Government, humbly tendered to conſideration by a friend and well-wiſher to this Common-wealth," both anonymous productions of 1659. They minutely agree with Milton's *Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth*, addreſſed to Monk in the ſame year. But [x] "the ſhip of the Commonwealth" could no longer be kept afloat: The gale of popular opinion was now adverſe. Of the uſurpation there were few who were not eager to ſhake off the galling chains. The following lines of Lucretius may be conſidered as no diſſimilar picture of the preſent period, as well as of the triumphant reign of Cromwell.

[y] "Ergo regibus occiſis ſubverſa jacebat
"Priſtina majeſtas foliorum, et ſceptra ſuperba;
"Et capitis ſummi præclarum inſigne cruentum
"Sub pedibus volgi magnum lugebat honorem.
"Nam cupidè conculcatur nimis ante metutum.
"Res itaque ad ſummam faecem turbáſque redibat,
"Imperium ſibi cùm, ac ſummatum, quiſque petebat.
"Inde magiſtratum partim docuere creare,
"Juráque conſtituére, ut vellent legibus uti:
"Nam genus humanum, defeſſum vi colere ævum,
"Ex inimicitiis languebat; quo magis ipſum
"Sponte ſuâ cecidit ſub leges, arctáque jura."

Milton, however, not long before the King's return, publiſhed *The ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth*; which he hoped might not contain "the laſt words of expiring liberty." The

[x] See Milton's Proſe-Works, vol. ii. p. 789. edit. 1698.

[y] Lib. v. ver. 1135.

pamphlet gave riſe [z] both to a ſerious, and to a ludicrous, reply. He afterwards publiſhed *Brief Notes* upon a Sermon preached in March 1659-60, by Dr. Matthew Griffith, called *The Fear of God and the King*. Theſe Notes were immediately anſwered by L'Eſtrange in a pamphlet, inſultingly denominated *No Blind Guides*.

Perceiving the return of the King to be unavoidable, he was obliged to quit the houſe which he occupied as Latin Secretary, and in which he had lived eight years with great reputation; viſited by all foreigners of diſtinction, and by ſeveral perſons of quality in his own country, particularly by Lady Ranelagh, whoſe ſon had been his pupil. It appears, from Aubrey's relation, that ſeveral foreigners had been induced to viſit England, in order "chiefly to ſee Oliver Cromwell lord protector, and Mr. John Milton." In the execution of his office Milton had acquired indeed the higheſt credit. His *State-Letters*, which are publiſhed, are juſtly admired by criticks and politicians, and eminently beſpeak the vigour and ſenſibility of his active mind. They are entitled "Literæ Senatûs Anglicani, necnon Cromwelli, &c. nomine ac juſſu conſcriptæ." They have been tranſlated into Engliſh; in which dreſs they appeared, with his Life prefixed by Phillips, in 1694.

Milton at the Reſtoration withdrew, for a time, to a friend's houſe in Bartholomew-Cloſe. By this precaution he probably eſcaped the particular proſecution which was at firſt directed againſt him.

[z] See the Notes on the 21ſt Sonnet, and the Ode to Rouſe.

Mr. Warton was [a] told by Mr. Tyers from good authority, that, when Milton was under profecution with Goodwin, his friends, to gain time, made a mock-funeral for him; and that when matters were fettled in his favour, and the affair was known, the King laughed heartily at the trick. This circumftance has been alfo related by an hiftorian [b] lately brought to light; who fays that Milton "pretended to be dead, and had a publick funeral proceffion," and that "the King applauded his policy in efcaping the punifhment of death, by a feafonable fhew of dying." His *Eiconoclaftes* and *Defenfio pro Populo Anglicano* were, however, configned to the moft publick difgrace. It was the refolution of the Commons, on the 16th of June 1660, that his Majefty fhould be "[c] humbly moved to call in Milton's two books, and that of John Goodwin, [*The Obftructors of Juftice*,] written in juftification of the murder of the late King, and order them to be burnt by the common hangman; and that the Attorney-General do proceed againft them by indictment or otherwife." Dr. Johnfon thinks that Milton was not very diligently purfued. It is certain that he very fucceffully concealed himfelf. The proclamation for apprehending him, and his bold compeer, particularly notices that "[d] the faid John Milton and John Goodwin are fo fled, or fo obfcure themfelves, that no endeavours ufed for their apprehenfion can take

[a] See his Second Edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 358.

[b] Cunningham's Hift. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 14.

[c] Journals of the Houfe of Commons.

[d] See the Proclamation printed at length in Kennet's Regifter and Chronicle, 1728, p. 189.

effect, whereby they may be brought to legal tryal, and deſervedly receive condign puniſhment for their treaſons and offences." Of the proſcribed books ſeveral copies were committed to the flames on the 27th of Auguſt. Within three days after the burning theſe offenſive publications, he found himſelf relieved, by the *Act of Indemnity*, from the neceſſity of concealment. Goodwin was incapacitated, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves, with nineteen more, for any publick truſt; but of Milton there was no exception. He was afterwards, however, in the cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms; for on Saturday the 15th of December, 1660, it was ordered, by the Houſe of Commons, "[e] that Mr. Milton, now in cuſtody of the Serjeant at arms, attending this Houſe, *be forthwith releaſed, paying his fees.*" And, on Monday the 17th, "a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded exceſſive fees for *the impriſonment* of Mr. Milton; it was ordered, that it be referred to the Committee for Privileges to examine this buſineſs, and to call Mr. Mead the Serjeant before them, and to determine what is fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this caſe." Milton is ſuppoſed to have had powerful friends both in Council and Parliament; as Secretary Morice, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Andrew Marvell. But the principal inſtrument in obtaining Milton's pardon is ſaid to have been Sir William Davenant, who, when he was taken priſoner in 1650, had been ſaved by Milton's intereſt, and who now, in grateful return for ſo ſignal an obligation, interceded for the life of

[e] Journals of the Houſe of Commons.

Milton. This ſtory has been related by Richardſon upon the authority of Pope, who received it from Betterton, the protégé of Davenant. Aubrey, in his manuſcript Life of Davenant[f], aſcribes his ſafety, without mention of Milton, to two aldermen of York.

Milton, having obtained his pardon, took a houſe in Holborn near Red-Lion-Fields; but ſoon removed to Jewin-ſtreet, near Alderſgate. Here he married his third wife, Elizabeth Minſhull, of a genteel family in Cheſhire. She was a relation of Dr. Paget, his particular friend, whom he had requeſted to recommend a proper conſort for him. It may here be obſerved, that he choſe his three wives out of the virgin ſtate. Indeed he tells us that he entirely agreed "[g] with them who, both in prudence and elegance of ſpirit, would chooſe a virgin of mean fortunes, honeſtly bred, before the wealthieſt widow." Soon after this laſt marriage, he is ſaid to have been offered the continuance of his employment of Latin Secretary, and to have [h] magnanimouſly declined it. It was while he lived in Jewin-ſtreet, that Ellwood the quaker was recommended to him as a perſon who, for the advantage of his converſation, would read to him ſuch Latin books as he thought proper; an employment to which he attended every afternoon, except on Sundays.

[f] See the Hiſt. Account of the Engliſh Stage, Steevens's Shakſpeare, edit. 1793. vol. ii. p. 431.

[g] Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 191. ed. 1698.

[h] See the Note [f] to the Nuncupative Will.

" At my firſt ſitting to him," this ingenuous [1] writer informs us, in his Life of himſelf, " obſerving that I uſed the Engliſh pronunciation, he told me, if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and underſtand Latin authors, but to converſe with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I muſt learn the foreign pronunciation; to this I conſenting, he inſtructed me how to ſound the vowels: This change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me; but 'labor omnia vincit improbus;' and ſo did I; which made my reading the more acceptable to my maſter. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earneſt deſire I purſued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help, he could; for, *having a curious ear,* he underſtood by my tone when I underſtood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly he would ſtop me, and examine me, and open the moſt difficult paſſages to me."

The kind care beſtowed by Milton upon the improvement of this young man was repaid by every mark of perſonal regard. The courteſy of the preceptor, and the gratitude of the diſciple, are indeed

[1] " The early life of Ellwood," Mr. Warton has remarked, " exhibits exactly the progreſs of an enthuſiaſt. Having been a profligate youth, and often whipped at ſchool twice a day, he was ſuddenly reclaimed by accidentally hearing a Quaker's ſermon. He then had the felicity of following the ſteps of St. Paul, in ſuffering bonds and impriſonment. But thoſe ſlight evils did not reach the ſpiritual man. He found the horrours of a jail to be green and flowery paſtures, refreſhed withthe fountain of grace. He conſoled himſelf as Shakſpeare ſays, with 'a ſnuff in a dungeon.' The hiſtory of his deſultory life, written by himſelf, and from which I collect theſe anecdotes, is filled with idle rambles and adventures, fooliſh ſcraps of poetry, and fanatical opinions. I except thoſe paſſages which relate to Milton, as alſo the beſt and moſt curious part of the deſcription of Bridewell and Newgate, then the uſual receptacles of preaching apprentices, and frequently more full of ſaints than felons."

alike conſpicuous. After ſeveral adventures, which were no ſlight trials of patience, Ellwood found an aſylum in the houſe of an affluent quaker at Chalfont in Buckinghamſhire, whoſe children he was to inſtruct. This ſituation afforded him an opportunity of being ſerviceable to Milton. For, when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, Ellwood took a houſe for him at [k] Chalfont St. Giles; to which the poet retired with his family. He had not long before

[k] Dr. Birch, in his Life of Milton, has printed a *Sonnet*, ſaid to be written by Milton in 1665, when he retired to Chalfont in Buckinghamſhire on account of the plague; and to have been ſeen inſcribed on the glaſs of a window in that place. I have ſeen a copy of it written, apparently in a coeval hand, at the end of Tonſon's edition of Milton's Smaller Poems in 1713, where it is alſo ſaid to be Milton's. It is re-printed, from Dr. Birch's Life of the poet, in Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calendar*, 1763, vol. viii. p. 67. But, in this Sonnet there is a ſcriptural miſtake; which, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, Milton was not likely to commit. For the Sonnet improperly repreſents David as puniſhed by peſtilence for his adultery with Bathſheba. Mr. Warton, however, adds, that Dr. Birch had been informed by Vertue the engraver, that he had ſeen a ſatirical medal, ſtruck upon Charles the ſecond, abroad, without any legend, having a correſpondent device.—This Sonnet, I ſhould add, varies from the conſtruction of the legitimate Sonnet, in conſiſting of only ten lines, inſtead of fourteen.

Fair mirrour of foul times! whoſe fragile ſheen
Shall, as it blazeth, break; while Providence,
Aye watching o'er his ſaints with eye unſeen,
Spreads the red rod of angry peſtilence,
To ſweep the wicked and their counſels hence;
Yea, all to break the pride of luſtfull kings,
Who heaven's lore reject for brutiſh ſenſe;
As erſt he ſcourg'd Jeſſides' ſin of yore,
For the fair Hittite, when, on ſeraph's wings,
He ſent him war, or plague, or famine ſore.

removed from Jewin-ſtreet to a houſe in Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill-fields. On his arrival at Chalfont he found that Ellwood, in conſequence of a perſecution of the quakers, was confined in the gaol of Aylesbury. But, being ſoon releaſed, this affectionate friend made a viſit to him, to welcome him into the country. "After ſome common diſcourſes," ſays Ellwood, "had paſſed between us, he called for a manuſcript of his, which, being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leiſure, and when I had ſo done, return it to him with my judgement thereupon. When I came home, and ſet myſelf to read it, I found it was that excellent poem, which he entitled *Paradiſe Loſt*." From this account it appears that *Paradiſe Loſt* was complete in 1665.

Next year, when the city was cleanſed, and the danger of infection ceaſed, he returned to Bunhill-fields, and deſigned the publication of his great poem. Some biographers have ſuppoſed that he began to mould the *Paradiſe Loſt* into an epick form, ſoon after he was diſengaged from the controverſy with Salmaſius. Aubrey ſays, that he began the work about two years before the Reſtoration. However, conſidering the difficulties, as Dr. Newton well remarks, "under which the author lay, his uneaſineſs on account of the publick affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his not being in circumſtances to maintain an amanuenſis, but obliged to make uſe of any hand that came next to write his verſes as he made them, it is really wonderful that he ſhould have the ſpirit to undertake ſuch a work, and much more

that he ſhould ever bring it to perfection." Yet his tuneful voice was

——————————— " unchang'd
" To hoarſe or mute, though fallen on evil days,
" On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues;
" In darkneſs, and with dangers compaſs'd round,
" And ſolitude."——

To Milton indeed the days might now ſeem evil. But to ſo pathetick a complaint cold muſt be the heart of him who can liſten without compaſſion. It reminds us of the muſical but melancholy ſtrains, addreſſed by his favourite Taſſo in a Sonnet to Stiglian, whom he ſalutes as advancing on the road to Helicon:

" Ivi prende mia cetra ad un cipreſſo:
" Salutala in mio nome, e dalle avviſo,
" *Ch' io ſon da gli anni e da fortuna oppreſſo.*"

The laſt of Milton's familiar Letters in Latin, addreſſed to Peter Heimbach, an accompliſhed German, who is ſtyled counſellor to the elector of Brandenburgh, (and who is ſuppoſed, by an expreſſion in a former epiſtle from Milton to him, to have reſided with the poet, when he viſited England, in the character of a diſciple,) relates his conſideration on his preſent circumſtances, and his reflection on the days that were gone, in a moſt intereſting manner. With the tranſlation of this letter by his moſt affectionate and ſpirited biographer, Mr. Hayley, the reader will be gratified.

" If among ſo many [1] funerals of my countrymen, in a year ſo full of peſtilence and ſorrow, you were induced, as

[1] Even at Chalfont, whither he had retired from the danger of infection, infection had appeared. For in the Regiſter of the

you ſay, by rumour to believe that I alſo was ſnatched away, it is not ſurpriſing; and if ſuch a rumour prevailed among thoſe of your nation, as it ſeems to have done, becauſe they were ſolicitous for my health, it is not unpleaſing, for I muſt eſteem it as a proof of their benevolence towards me. But by the graciouſneſs of God, who had prepared for me a ſafe retreat in the country, I am ſtill alive and well; and I truſt not utterly an unprofitable ſervant, whatever duty in life there yet remains for me to fulfil. That you remember me, after ſo long an interval in our correſpondence, gratifies me exceedingly, though, by the politeneſs of your expreſſion, you ſeem to afford me room to ſuſpect, that you have rather forgotten me, ſince, as you ſay, you admire in me ſo many different virtues wedded together. From ſo many weddings I ſhould aſſuredly dread a family too numerous, were it not certain that, in narrow circumſtances and under ſeverity of fortune, virtues are moſt excellently reared, and are moſt flouriſhing. Yet one of theſe ſaid virtues has not very handſomely rewarded me for entertaining her; for that which you call my political virtue, and which I ſhould rather wiſh you to call my devotion to my country, (enchanting me with her captivating name,) almoſt, if I may ſay ſo, expatriated me. Other virtues, however, join their voices to aſſure me, that wherever we proſper in rectitude there is our country. In ending my letter, let me obtain from you this favour, that if you find any parts of it incorrectly written, and without ſtops, you will impute it to the boy who writes for me, who is utterly ignorant of Latin, and to whom I am forced (wretchedly enough) to repeat every ſingle ſyllable that I dictate. I ſtill rejoice that your merit as an accompliſhed man, whom I knew as a youth of the higheſt expectation, has advanced you ſo far in the honourable favour of your prince. For your proſperity in every other point you have

pariſh, under the year 1665, two perſons are recorded, as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the reſident clergyman, to have died of *the ſickneſs*; [ſo the Plague was denominated;] one of whom is called a ſtranger, and died at the Manor Houſe.

both my wiſhes and my hopes. Farewell. *London,* Auguſt 15, 1666."

After the poem had been made ready for publication, it is ſaid to have been in danger of being ſuppreſſed by the licenſer, who imagined that, in the noble [m] ſimile of the ſun in an eclipſe, he had diſcovered treaſon. The licenſer's heſitation is a ſtriking example of Lord Lyttleton's acute remark, that "[n] the politicks of Milton at that time brought his poetry into diſgrace; for it is a rule with the Engliſh; *they ſee no good in a man whoſe politicks they diſlike.*" [o] Licenſed, however, the poem was; and Milton ſold his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds. But the agreement with the bookſeller entitled him to a conditional payment of five pounds more when thirteen hundred copies ſhould be ſold of the firſt edition; of the like ſum after the ſame number of the ſecond edition; and of another five pounds after the ſame ſale of the third. The number of each edition was not to exceed fifteen hundred copies. It firſt appeared in 1667, in ten books. In the hiſtory of *Paradiſe Loſt*, Dr. Johnſon has obſerved that a relation of minute circumſtances will rather gratify than fatigue. Countenanced by ſuch authority, I

[m] B. i. 594, &c.

[n] Dialogues of the Dead. Dial. xiv.

[o] Mr. Malone obſerves, that the poem was entered in the Stationers' Book by Samuel Symons, Aug. 20. 1669. See the Life of Dryden, 1800, vol. i. part i. p. 114. The title pages of 1667 and 1668, however, bear in front "*Licenſed and Entered according to Order.*" I have ſeen ſeveral copies with the title-page of 1669, in which this notification is omitted.

proceed to ſtate that the poem, in a ſmall quarto form, and plainly but neatly bound, was advertiſed at the price of [p] three ſhillings. The titles were varied, in order to circulate the edition, in 1667, 1668, and 1669. Of theſe theſe there were no leſs than [q] *five*. In two years the ſale gave the poet a right to his ſecond payment, for which the receipt was ſigned April 26, 1669. The ſecond edition was not given till 1674; it was printed in ſmall octavo; and, by a judicious diviſion of the ſeventh and tenth, contained twelve books. He lived not to receive the payment ſtipulated for this impreſſion. The third edition was publiſhed in 1678; and his widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, agreed with Simmons, the printer, to receive eight pounds for her right, according to her receipt dated December 21, 1680. Simmons had already covenanted to transfer the right, for twenty-five pounds, to Brabazon Aylmer, the bookſeller; and Aylmer ſold to Jacob Tonſon half, Auguſt 17, 1683, and the other half, March 24, 1690, at a price conſiderably advanced.

Of the firſt edition it has been obſerved by Dr. Johnſon, that "the call for books was not in Milton's age what it is at preſent;—the nation had been ſatisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakſpeare, which probably did not together make one thouſand copies. The ſale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in oppoſition to ſo much recent enmity, and to a ſtyle

[p] In Clavel's Catalogue of all the books printed in England, ſince the fire of London, in 1666 to the end of 1672. Fol. Lond. 1673.

[q] See the liſt of Editions at the end of the Life.

of verſification new to all and diſguſting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius." This remark will always be read with peculiar gratification, as it exonerates our forefathers from the charge of being inattentive to the glorious blaze of a luminary, before which ſo many ſtars "dim their ineffectual light." The demand, as Dr. Johnſon notices, did not immediately encreaſe; becauſe "many more readers than were ſupplied at firſt, the nation did not afford. Only three thouſand were ſold in eleven years; for it forced its way without aſſiſtance; its admirers did not dare to publiſh their opinion; and the opportunities, now given, of attracting notice by advertiſements were then very few. But the reputation and price of the copy ſtill advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the ſecrecy of love, and *Paradiſe Loſt* broke into open view with ſufficient ſecurity of kind reception. Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton ſurveyed the ſilent progreſs of his work, and marked its reputation ſtealing its way in a kind of ſubterraneous current through fear and ſilence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little diſappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with ſteady conſciouſneſs, and waiting, without impatience, the viciſſitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation."

Milton indeed may be conſidered as an illuſtrious example of *patient merit*. But his admirers were not long ſilent. Witneſs the ſpirited verſes of Barrow and Marvell, prefixed to the ſecond edition of the poem: Witneſs alſo the celebrated hexaſtich of Dryden, which accompanies the fourth edition; as

well as the liberal acknowledgement of his obligations to *Paradiſe Loſt*, made almoſt immediately after the death of Milton in the preface to his *State of Innocence*: "I cannot, without injury to the deceaſed author of *Paradiſe Loſt*, but acknowledge, that this poem has received its entire foundation, part of the deſign and many of the ornaments from him. What I have borrowed will be ſo eaſily diſcerned from my mean productions, that I ſhall not need to point the reader to the places; and truly I ſhould be ſorry, for my own ſake, that any one ſhould take the pains to compare them together, *the original being undoubtedly one of the greateſt, moſt noble, and moſt ſublime poems, which either this age or nation has produced.*"

Among the circumſtances of Milton's poſthumous renown may be mentioned, to the no ſmall diverſion of the reader, the *curious commendation* contained in the Preface to "Poems in Two Parts; Firſt, an Interlocutory Diſcourſe concerning the Creation, Fall, and Recovery of Man. Secondly, A Dialogue between Faith and a Doubting Soul. By Samuel Slater. Lond. 1679." The author of theſe poems ſeems to have thought the great bard, not however without ſome animadverſion of his *correcter pen*, to have been worthy his imitation! "I was much taken" he ſays, "with *learned Mr. Milton's caſt and fancy* in his book, [the *Paradiſe Loſt*.] Him I have followed much in his method, and have been otherwiſe beholding to him, how much I leave thee [Gentle Reader!] to judg: but I have uſed a *more plain and familiar ſtile, becauſe I conceive it moſt proper!*" Theſe compoſitions, the children of prepoſterous con-

ceit, would have been a valuable addition to the common-place books of Bayes, who alſo "*loved to write familiarly!*" To the fame of Milton an elegant poetical tribute was paid in the ſucceeding year by a writer, whom I have [r] conjectured to be Francis Cradock, a member of the ſame club with Milton. The opinion and encouragement of Lord Somers ſoon afterwards occaſioned the handſome folio edition of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, which was publiſhed by [s] ſubſcription, in 1688; to which is prefixed a liſt of more than five hundred ſubſcribers, among whom are all the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of that period. Atterbury exerted himſelf with zealous activity in the promotion of this honourable publication. In the preface to the *Second Part of Waller's Poems*, written by Atterbury, and printed in 1690; and in that to *The Deſign of part of the book of Eccleſiaſtes*, a poem by [t] W. W., printed in 1691, Milton's rejection of rhyme is judiciouſly commended. In 1692, another ornamented edition of *Paradiſe Loſt*, in folio, was publiſhed; and a third, with the copious and very learned commentary of Patrick Hume, in 1695. Theſe evidences of encreaſing celebrity, within thirty

[r] See the Commendatory Verſes on Milton in the preſent edition of his Poetical Works.

[s] Dr. Johnſon has ſaid, that Dryden's *Virgil* was the firſt conſiderable work publiſhed by ſubſcription. But this edition of *Paradiſe Loſt* preceded the Engliſh *Virgil* ſome years. Mace's *Muſick's Monument*, fol. 1676, was publiſhed by ſubſcription. Perhaps Minſheu's *Guide into Tongues*, fol. 1617, may be conſidered as the firſt book, of which the ſale was promoted by this method.

[t] William Wollaſton, author of the Religion of Nature delineated: the poem he endeavoured to ſuppreſs. See Biog. Brit. Art. *Wollaſton*

yea after the firſt appearance of the poem, I thought too remarkable to overpaſs; eſpecially as the popularity of *Paradiſe Loſt* has been ſuppoſed to be very confined, till the appearance of Addiſon's criticiſm.

Such were the proofs, relating to this ſubject, which I had diſcovered when I firſt publiſhed this account of Milton. I have ſince found more. Nor may the production of them be thought unneceſſary, as the unpopularity of Milton in the ſeventeenth century is yet believed. A very ingenious [u] author has lately aſſerted, that Cowley and Cleveland were more popular than Milton. The aſſertion has been queſtioned in an acute criticiſm, of which the foundation is juſt; as the facts already ſtated, and thoſe which I ſhall add, evince. Nor will Mr. Southey regard, without pleaſure, the evidences that *Paradiſe Loſt* could be well appreciated even under the Stuarts. "The [x] aſſertion that Cowley was more popular in his day than Milton, we do not believe, in the more reſpectable ſenſe of the word. If popularity mean the opinion of women and children, or the lower claſs of readers, the novels of the circulating library are at this day more popular than Paradiſe Loſt. But, among good judges, Milton was early and claſſically worſhipped. He was early tranſlated into foreign languages,—which Cowley, we believe, never was. At all events, the popularity of Cowley is to be regarded as an exception to the rule—that demerit will not be overrated in its own

[u] Mr. Southey, in the Preface to his Specimens of the later Engliſh Poets, p. xxvii.

[x] Edinburgh Review, No xxi. p. 32.

day,—than a confirmation of the contrary. Cleveland was never ſo popular as Milton, in his own day, or in any other. The ſuppoſed neglect of Milton among his contemporaries has been greatly exaggerated. Neither the ſilence of Dryden, nor the political malignity of Winſtanly, prove that the ſeventeenth century was not deeply ſenſible of his excellence, any more than Voltaire's laughing at Paradiſe Loſt proves his being contemned by the moderns." To illuſtrate what is here advanced, I mention firſt that an examination of Milton's blank verſe, and a proper tribute to the ſweetneſs of his language in the *Paradiſe Loſt*, occur in Dr. Woodford's [y] *Paraphraſe upon the Canticles*, publiſhed in 1679. Next, in the poetical tranſlation of Jacob Catſius's *Self-Conflict*, publiſhed in 1680, the anonymous tranſlator obſerves, in the Preface, that "it were a pity gold ſhould be rejected, becauſe preſented unto thee in a homely veſſel; or ſoveraign counſel, becauſe not ſung to thee by a Cowley, or a Milton; the very footſteps of either of which thou art not likely here to find." But, notwithſtanding this modeſt depreciation of his labour, the tranſlator has employed, with good effect, many Miltonick expreſſions. We find Milton again the admired theme of an unknown author in 1683, who, in his work entitled *The Situation of Paradiſe found out*, cites with taſte and judgement ſeveral paſſages from the fourth book of *Paradiſe Loſt*; and, by the application of a remark in S. Athanaſius, confirms the [z] opinion that Milton, in his deſcription of Para-

[y] See alſo vol. ii. of the preſent edition of Milton's Poetical Works, pp. 277, 278.

[z] See my Note on *Par. Loſt*, B. iv. 256.

diſe, conſulted the Fathers. " [a] As to the eaſterly ſituation of this garden," ſays the author, " S. Athanaſius has a fancy thereupon extraordinary poetical, and which I take to be more expreſſive of its riches, and its pleaſures, than thoſe deſcriptions the moſt fanciful poets can give of their Elyſium; viz. 'That from hence about the Oriental parts of India there are every where ſuch fragrant ſcents, and that the ſpices receive their odours, as if blown from that happy place:' Which is good poetry enough, though too light for him: And Milton has it,

——————— 'Now gentle gales,
'Fanning their odoriferous wings diſpenſe
'Native perfumes, and whiſper whence they ſtole
'Thoſe balmy ſpoils.'——"

From the happy illuſtration of this beautiful paſſage, I proceed to notice a [b] tranſlation of the firſt book of *Paradiſe Loſt* ſo early as in 1685; and I will cloſe the publick expreſſions of regard and reſpect for Milton, under the Stuarts, with a citation from *Poems to the Memory of Edmond Waller, Eſq. By ſeveral hands, in* 1688, where Milton obtains, from an anonymous writer, this commendation by compariſon:

Now, in ſoft notes, like dying ſwans, he'd ſing,
Now tower aloft, like eagles on the wing;
Speak of adventurous deeds in ſuch a ſtrain,
As all but Milton would attempt in vain;
And only there, where his rapt Muſe does tell
How in th' ætherial war th' Apoſtate Angels fell.

Of the anecdote, related by Richardſon, reſpecting the celebrity which *Paradiſe Loſt* has been ſuppoſed

[a] Pages, 23, 24.
[b] See the liſt of Tranſlations, at the end of this Account.

to owe to Denham, the accurate inveſtigation of Mr. Malone has detected the improbability.

" ' The elder Richardſon," ſays this acute and learned writer, " ſpeaking of the tardy reputation of *Paradiſe Loſt*, tells us, (and the tale has been repeated in various Lives of Milton,) that he was informed by Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, many years previous to 1734,) that Sir John Denham came into the Houſe one morning with a ſheet of *Paradiſe Loſt* wet from the preſs, in his hand; and, being aſked what it was, he replied, ' *Part of the nobleſt poem that ever was written in any language or in any age.*' However, the book remained unknown till it was produced about *two years afterwards* by Lord Buckhurſt on the following occaſion. That nobleman, in company with Mr. Fleetwood Shephard, (who frequently told the ſtory to Dr. Tancred Robinſon, an eminent phyſician, and Mr. Richardſon's informer,) looking over ſome books in Little Britain, met with *Paradiſe Loſt*; and, being ſurpriſed with ſome paſſages in turning it over, bought it. The bookſeller requeſted his Lordſhip to ſpeak in its favour, if he liked it: for *the impreſſion lay on his hands as waſte paper.* Lord Buckhurſt, (whom Richardſon inaccurately calls the Earl of Dorſet, for he did not ſucceed to that title till ſome years afterwards,) having read the poem, ſent it to Dryden, who in a ſhort time returned it with this anſwer: ' *This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too.*'—Much the ſame character (adds Mr. Richardſon) he gave of it to a north-country gentleman, to whom I mentioned the book, he being a great reader, but not in a right train, coming to town ſeldom, and keeping little company. Dryden amazed him with ſpeaking loftily of it. ' Why, Mr. Dryden, ſays he, (Sir W. L. told me the thing himſelf,) 'tis not in rhyme.' ' *No;* (replied Dryden,) *nor would I have done my* Virgil *in rhyme, if I was to begin it again*'—How Sir John Denham ſhould get into his hands one of the ſheets of *Pa-*

' Life of Dryden, 1800, vol. i. part i. p. 112, &c.

radiſe Loſt, while it was working off at the preſs, it is not very eaſy to conceive. The proof-ſheets of every book, as well as the finiſhed ſheets when worked off, previous to publication, are ſubject to the inſpection of no perſon but the author, or the perſons to whom he may confide them; and there is no evidence or probability that any intimacy ſubſiſted between Sir John Denham and Milton. Here then is the firſt difficulty. The next is, that during a great part of the year 1667, when Milton's poem probably was paſſing through the preſs, the knight was diſordered in his underſtanding: But a ſtronger objection remains behind; for, on examination, it will be found that Denham, who is ſaid to have thus blazoned *Paradiſe Loſt* in the Houſe of Commons, was never in parliament. Let us, however, wave this objection, and ſuppoſe this eulogy to have been pronounced in a full Houſe of Commons in 1667, in which year Milton's great poem according to ſome of the title-pages firſt appeared, whilſt others have the dates of 1668 and 1669. So little effect had Denham's commendation, that we find in *two years afterwards* almoſt the whole impreſſion lying on the bookſeller's hands as waſte-paper: during which time Dryden, a poet himſelf, living among poets, and perſonally acquainted with Milton, had never ſeen it! And to crown all, by the original contract between Milton and Simmons, the printer, dated April 27, 1667, it was ſtipulated, that, whenever *thirteen hundred* books were ſold, he ſhould receive five pounds, in addition to the ſum originally paid on the ſale of the copy: and this ſecond ſum of five pounds *was paid* to him, as appears from the receipt, on the 26th of April, 1669: ſo that, in two years after the original publication, we find that, inſtead of almoſt the whole impreſſion then lying on the bookſeller's hands, thirteen hundred out of fifteen hundred copies of this poem had been diſperſed. Unleſs, therefore, almoſt every ſpecies of incongruity and contradiction can authenticate a narrative, this anecdote muſt be rejected as wholly unworthy of credit."

Before I quit the ſubject of the firſt appearance of *Paradiſe Loſt*, I muſt notice a communication, made to the publick [d] not long ſince by a gentleman poſſeſſing the original edition, of the following lines; apparently written by a female on two leaves prefixed to the title-page of his copy, and ſubſcribed at the bottom with this ſingular remark: "*Dictated by J. M.*" The communicator obſerves, that the daughter of Milton officiated as his amanuenſis; and that, from the remark already mentioned, there is ſome reaſon to attribute the lines to the author of *Paradiſe Loſt*. Different female hands, it may be added, appear in the manuſcript of Milton, preſerved in Trinity College, Cambridge. However, the bondage of rhyme will probably incline ſome readers to doubt the authenticity of theſe lines; while ſeveral ſtriking ſentiments and expreſſions, and the frequent flow of the verſes into each other, may perhaps occaſion ſome alſo to think them genuine, and that the great poet might have choſen, as an amuſement, to employ once more the "jingling ſound of like endings." The ſubject alſo had been a favourite theme of Milton. *On Day-Break.*

" Welcome, bright choriſter, to our hemiſphere;
" Thy glad approaches tell us Day is near.
" See! how his early dawn creeps o'er yon hill,
" And with his grey-ey'd light begins to fill
" The ſilent air, driving far from our ſight
" The ſtarry regiment of frighted Night;
" Whoſe pale-fac'd regent, Cynthia, paler grows,
" To ſee herſelf purſu'd by conquering foes;

[d] In the Gentleman's Magazine for Auguſt 1786, p. 698

" Yet daring ſtays behind, to guard the rear
" Of her black armies whither without fear
" They may retreat, till her alternate courſe
" Bring her about again with rallied force.
" Hark! how the lion's terrour loud proclaims
" The gladſome tidings of day's gentle beams,
" And, long-kept ſilence breaking, rudely wakes
" The feather'd train, which ſoon their concert makes,
" And with unmeaſur'd notes, unnumber'd lays,
" Do joyfully ſalute the lightſome rays.
" But hearken yonder, where the louder voice
" Of ſome keen hunter's horn hath once or twice
" Recheated out its blaſt, which ſeems to drill
" Th' oppoſing air, and with its echo fill.
" Thither let's hie; and ſee the toilſome hound,
" Willing, purſues his labour, till he 'has found
" Some hope of what he follows, then with freſht
" And pleaſing clamour tells it to the reſt.
" O Thou, who ſometimes by moſt ſacred voice
" Father of Light wert ſtyl'd, let my free choice
" (Though all my works be evil, ſeldom right,)
" Shun loving darkneſs rather than the light.
" Let thy eſſential brightneſs, with quick glance,
" Dart through the foggy miſt of ignorance
" Into the darken'd intellect, and thence
" Diſpel whatever clouds o'erſpread the ſenſe;
" Till, with [c] illuminated eyes, the mind
" All the dark corners in itſelf can find,
" And fill them all with radiant light, which may
" Convert my gloomy night to ſun-ſhine day.
" *Though dark*, O God! if guarded by thy might
" *I ſee with intellectual eyes*; the night
" To me a noon-tide blaze, illumin'd by
" The glorious ſplendour of thy Majeſty!"

[c] The printed word is *illumin'd*. An acute writer in the Britiſh Critic ſuggeſts that the metre requires *illuminated*.

After the publication of *Paradiſe Loſt*, Milton reſumed his deſign of giving an hiſtory of his native country. But he proceeded only as far as the Norman conqueſt. Of this hiſtory the firſt printed copies were mutilated; for the licenſer expunged ſeveral paſſages, which, reprobating the pride and ſuperſtition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were underſtood as a concealed ſatire upon the Biſhops in the reign of the ſecond Charles. Milton, however, beſtowed a copy of the unlicenſed paſſages on the Earl of Angleſea; which were publiſhed in 1681, with a preface, declaring that they originally belonged to the third book of his hiſtory, and which have been ſince inſerted in their proper places. The ſix books, which Milton executed, appeared in 1670.

In 1671, he[f] publiſhed the *Paradiſe Regained*, and *Samſon Agoniſtes*. Of the former poem Phillips has[g] recorded Milton's opinion; not his *preference* of it to *Paradiſe Loſt*, but his[h] mortification to find it cenſured as infinitely inferiour to his former epick production. His *pretended preference* has been[i] recommended by an ingenious writer, with other

[f] At the price, bound, of two ſhillings and ſixpence. Clavel's Catalogue, 1673.

[g] Life of Milton, 1694, p. xxxix.

[h] In a manuſcript note, at the end of Toland's Life of Milton, communicated to me by Mr. F. G. Waldron, it is related that *Paradiſe Regained* was, in the poet's own opinion, the better poem, though it could never obtain to be named with *Paradiſe Loſt*; and that Milton gave this reaſon for the general diſlike, namely, *That the people had a general ſenſe of the loſs of Paradiſe, but not an equal guſt for the regaining of it.*

[i] Letters of Literature, 1785, p. 416.

popular tales believed without vouchers, and without probability, to ſupreme contempt. Uncommon energy of thought, and felicity of compoſition, as Mr. Hayley obſerves, are apparent in both the performances of Milton, however different in deſign, dimenſion, and effect. And Mr. Dunſter, the learned editor of *Paradiſe Regained* in 1795, has happily advanced the poem from the obſcurity, in which it had been too long ſhrouded; pleading its merits with all the maſterly diſcrimination of an eloquent advocate. Mr. Warton and Mr. Hayley aſſert, that the poet *planned*, or *began*, it at Chalfont: Mr. Dunſter argues, that he probably *finiſhed* it at his temporary reſidence.

" [k] We may ſuppoſe," he ſays, " that Milton remained at Chalfont till towards the Spring of 1666; as it is ſaid he did not return to London until 'the ſickneſs was over, and the city was well cleanſed, and become ſafely habitable."—Ellwood proceeds to inform us, that 'when he waited on him afterwards in London, which he ſeldom failed to do when his occaſions led him thither,' Milton ſhowed him his ſecond poem; and 'in a pleaſant tone,' (which to me indicates his own full approbation of his work,) ſaid to him, 'This is owing to you, for you put it in my head by the queſtion[l] you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of.' It ſeems therefore nearly certain, that the *whole of the poem* was compoſed at Chalfont. As it was conceived with fervour, it was, I doubt not, proceeded in 'with eager thought.' This was the characteriſtick of Milton in compoſition, as may be collected from his letter to his friend Deodate, (September 2, 1637) where he deſcribes his own

[k] Addition to his edit. of *Par. Regained.*

[l] See the *Origin of Paradiſe Regained*, prefixed to the poem in the 5th vol. of this edition.

temper to be marked with an eagerneſs to finiſh whatever he had begun; ' meum ſic eſt ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla ferme illius rei cura, aut cogitatio diſtineat, quoad pervadam quo feror, et grandem aliquam ſtudiorum meorum quaſi periodum conficiam.' *Epiſt. Familiar.* vi. There is alſo ſuch a high degree of unity, connection, and integral perfection in the whole of this ſecond poem, as indicates it to have been the *uninterrupted* work of one ſeaſon; and, as I would ſuppoſe, the *exclusive* occupation of his divine genius during his reſidence in Buckinghamſhire. To have compoſed the whole of the poem in that time, would require him to produce only about ten lines a day; and many parts are given ſo perfectly *con amore,* that I am confident, upon thoſe occaſions, he proceeded *at a very different rate.* That the *Paradiſe Regained* was not publiſhed till five years after the time when I ſuppoſe it to have been completed, might be the ground on which Mr. Warton conſidered it as not being then finiſhed: and yet many other reaſons might be aſſigned for its not being printed ſooner. *Paradiſe Loſt,* we know, was finiſhed at leaſt two years before it was printed; and it was not till a year after Milton's return to London from Chalfont, that the contract with Samuel Simmons for the copy of it was ſigned, and the firſt purchaſe money of five pounds was paid for it. Milton, we find, received the ſecond five pounds two years after; the ſtipulated number of copies, to entitle him thereto, being then ſold. The author probably did not think of going again to the preſs with his *ſecond* poem, till he ſaw the requiſite ſale of the *firſt* accompliſhed. *Paradiſe Regained* might alſo wait for the completion of its companion, the *Samſon*; a work, which furniſhes ſome internal proofs of its having been compoſed at different periods. In July, 1670, the two poems were licenſed, and were printed the year following. In 1670 was printed his *Hiſtory of England:* ſo that Milton was not without his occupations between the time of his return to London, in the Spring of 1666, and his procuring the licence for printing his *Paradiſe Regained* and *Samſon Agoniſtes* in July 1670. That

he might reviſe and correct his brief epick previous to this, is very poſſible: but, that it was compoſed in its firſt form at Chalfont, I think, cannot be doubted. Accordingly I regard the little manſion there with no ſmall degree of veneration, as being excluſively the *incunabula* of Milton's *Paradiſe Regained*. I ſhould approach it as a Tibur or a Tuſculum; and ſhould feel myſelf on claſſick ground."

For [m] ſimilar reaſons the poet's laſt reſidence, the houſe in the Artillery-walk, may appear to his enthuſiaſtick admirers, as Mr. Hayley remarks, conſecrated by his genius. I proceed to notice the poem accompanying *Paradiſe Regained*, the *Samſon Agoniſtes*; in which there are ſo many ſevere ſtrictures, clearly pointing at the Reſtoration, and at the ſubſequent ſufferings of Milton's party, that it has been often wondered it ſhould have been ſanctioned with an *imprimatur*. A learned antiquary thus endeavours to account for this indulgence in the licenſer: "[n] Hurt by the cenſures, to which he had ſubjected himſelf by his over-refined cavils at *Paradiſe Loſt*, he might be unwilling to renew and encreaſe the obloquy, by demurring at the appearance of another poem of unqueſtionable excellence." To his own ſufferings alſo the poet often alludes in this ſublime and affecting tragedy. He had before couched his complaint, as well as his unſubdued contempt of regal government, under the concluding ſentence of his hiſtory: "As the long-ſuffering of God permits bad men to enjoy proſperous days with the good, ſo his ſeverity ofttimes exempts not *good men from their ſhare in evil times with the bad.*"

[m] See the Note [n] to the Nuncupative Will.

[n] Denne's Hiſt. of Lambeth Pariſh, &c. 1795, p. 344.

In 1672, he publiſhed his *Artis Logicæ plenior inſtitutio, ad Rami methodum concinnata.* He had, in 1661, given to the publick, for the ſervice of youth, *Accidence commenced Grammar.* Theſe pieces are proofs of that zeal for careful education, which Milton ſhowed throughout his life. To this zeal Dr. Johnſon has paid a tribute of applauſe, not more honourable than juſt. " To that multiplicity of attainments, and extent of comprehenſion, that entitle this great author to our veneration, may be added a kind of humble dignity, which did not diſdain the meaneſt ſervices to literature. The epick poet, the controvertiſt, the politician, having already deſcended to accommodate children with a book of rudiments, now, in the laſt years of his life, compoſed a book of Logick, for the initiation of ſtudents in philoſophy." Of his book of Logick there was a ſecond edition in the following year.

In 1673, his Treatiſe *Of true Religion, Hereſie, Schiſm, Toleration, and what beſt means may be uſed againſt the growth of Popery,* was publiſhed. In this diſcourſe there are ſome paſſages, which ſhow that Milton had altered his opinion, ſince his younger days, reſpecting certain points of doctrine. That regard for the Holy Writings, which always predominated in his mind, is alſo particularly obſervable in it. " Let not," he ſays, the countryman, the tradeſman, the lawyer, the phyſician, the ſtateſman, excuſe himſelf by his much buſineſs, from the ſtudious reading of the Bible." This advice he offers as the beſt preſervative againſt Popery. His principle of toleration, as Dr. Johnſon obſerves, is agreement in the ſufficiency of the Scriptures; and he extends it

to all who, whatever their opinions are, profeſs to derive them from the Sacred Books. In the ſame year he reprinted his juvenile poems with ſome additions, and with the Tractate on Education. Notwithſtanding the publick avowal of his oppoſition to Popery, the infamous Titus Oates had the impudence to aſſert, not long afterwards, that "Milton was a known [o] frequenter of a Popiſh Club."

In 1674, the laſt year of his laborious life, he publiſhed his *Familiar Letters in Latin*, to which he added ſome *Academical Exerciſes*. His employment of the preſs cloſed for ever in a tranſlation of the [p] *Latin Declaration of the Poles in favour of John the third*, their heroick ſovereign. He had now been a long ſufferer by the gout; and in July, conſidering his end to be approaching, he informed his brother Chriſtopher, who was then a bencher in the Inner Temple, that he wiſhed to dictate to him the diſpoſition of his property. The recent diſcovery of this Nuncupative Will minutely illuſtrates the domeſtick manners of the poet. To this account of his life it is ſubjoined, entire, with the notes of Mr. Warton. Milton died on [q] Sunday the 8th of

[o] Dedication or addreſs prefixed to the true Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. of the Popiſh Party, by T. Oates, D. D. fol. Lond. 1679.

[p] The Biographical Dictionary, of 1798, calls this piece a tranſlation from the *Dutch*. See vol. 10. p. 465. But the title-page of the performance announces it thus: "Now faithfully tranſlated from the *Latin* Copy."

[q] Mr. Hayley ſays, on Sunday the 15th of November. But it appears, by the Regiſter of St. Giles's Cripplegate, that he was buried on the 12th. "L. John Melton, gentleman. Conſumption. Chancell. 12. Nov. 1674." Melton has been altered,

November following. His death was ſo eaſy, that the time of his expiration was unperceived by the attendants in his room. No Muſe's tear was found to grace publickly his obſequies. Fifteen years afterwards indeed there did appear[r] "A propitiatory ſacrifice to the ghoſt of J. M. by way of Paſtoral, in a dialogue between Thyrſis and Corydon;" addreſſed by the author "to his dear brother Mr. Ath Wyndham." This poem, however, ſeems to have been written (though not publiſhed before 1689,) ſoon after the death of Milton. It is of conſiderable length, and of very unequal execution. There are paſſages in it, however, with which the reader of taſte and feeling may be pleaſed; as with the following, where the author, having deſcribed the poetical abilities of Milton "from his cradle to his tomb," thus repreſents the blind bard in

—— "his age and fruit together ripe,
"Of which blind Homer only was the type:
"Tireſias like, he mounted up on high,
"And ſcorn'd the filth of dull mortality;

in freſher ink, to Milton. I. denotes the liberty of the pariſh. Mr. Steevens ſuppoſed the entry to have been made by the undertaker, who knew nothing more of Milton than that he was dead. Aubrey ſays, "He was buried at the upper end in St. Gyles Cripple-gate chancell," and that, "when the two ſteppes to the Communion Table were rayſed, (Nov. 1621,) his Stone was removed."

[r] The book, in which this poem occurs, is little known; and has been obligingly pointed out to me by the ingenious and acute continuator of Jonſon's *Sad Shepherd*, Mr. F. G. Waldron. It is entitled, "Poems and Tranſlations written upon ſeveral occaſions, and to ſeveral perſons. By a late Scholar of Eaton. London, 1689." Small 8vo. The poem will be found in p. 110, &c.

" Convers'd with gods, and grac'd their royal line,
" All ecſtaſie, all rapture, all divine!"

Again, deploring his loſs, the poet ably notices Milton's rejection of rhyme; and calls the object of his grief,

" Daphnis, the great reformer of our iſle!
" Daphnis, the patron of the Roman ſtile!
" Who firſt to fence converted doggrel rhimes,
" The Muſes' bells took off, and ſtopt their chimes;
" On ſurer wings, with an immortal flight,
" Taught us how to believe, and how to write!"

Towards the concluſion, is this ſpirited prediction of Milton's increaſing glory:

" Even tombs of ſtone in time will wear away;
" Braſs pyramids are ſubject to decay;
" But lo! the poet's fame ſhall brighter ſhine
" In each ſucceeding age,
" Laughing at the baffled rage
" Of envious enemies and deſtructive time."

Milton left in manuſcript, *A brief Hiſtory of Moſcovia, and of other leſs-known Countries lying eaſtward of Ruſſia as far as Cathay*, which was printed in 1682. His manuſcript *Syſtem of Theology*, and *An Anſwer to a Libel upon himſelf*, (which Phillips ſuppoſes him to have ſuppreſſed from a proper contempt of the libeller,) are ſuppoſed to have periſhed. Of the following tract the biographers of Milton have taken no notice: " An Argument, or Debate in Law, of the great Queſtion concerning the Militia; as it is now ſettled by Ordinance of both the Houſes of Parliament. By J. M. London, 1642." 4°. On the title page of this pamphlet, (now in the poſſeſſion of the Marquis of Stafford,) Milton's

elder Brother in Comus, the ſecond Earl of Bridgewater, had written the name of the poet as the author. At the end of Phillips's Life of Milton, with manuſcript remarks by Oldys, communicated to me by Mr. Reed, this tract was alſo noticed among Oldys's additions to the publications of Milton. The ſame remark is made in a [s] volume of Tracts, belonging to the Archiepiſcopal Library at Lambeth Palace, with additions apparently from a contemporary writer; additions, indeed, not exhibiting genuine claims to credit, yet curious and amuſing; and in the following order.

1. John Milton's Speech for unlicenſd Printing.
2. *his Salve for ye Blind. a def: of ye Parlam^t^.*
3. *his Argument concerning ye Militia.*
5. *his Jus Populi.*
6. Εἰκωνοκλάστης, his Anſwer to ye Kings Book.
7. his Tenure of Kings.
4. The Parlam^ts^. Petition conc: ye Militia, & ye Kings Anſw^r^.

The numbers 5, 6, and 7, have been altered by the writer of the preceding contents, as he had omitted to put number 4 in its proper place. And 5 appears to have firſt ſtood without *his* before *Jus*; but is added evidently by the ſame hand. After the *Jus Populi* were alſo the following words, *by ſome ſuppoſed to be his*; but theſe words are croſſed through with the pen, and *his* prefixed, as I have before ſtated. The initials J. M. Eſquire are printed in the title-page of the *ſecond* of theſe tracts, and the remarker has written under them *J. Milton*; as

[s] In quarto, numbered I. 5. 23.

he has alſo placed in the title-page of the *fifth*, which exhibits no name or initials, the letters J. M. But however careful and earneſt this remarker has been, I am convinced he is miſtaken, in attributing theſe two pamphlets to Milton. They exhibit indeed (particularly the latter) many energetick ſentiments and expreſſions. The former, printed in 1643, opens with this pithy avowal to the Reader: "It is not rhetorick but reaſon can ſatisfie the judgment. The former may cozen the conſcience, and dazle ſimple men: the latter onely can ſatisfie the wiſe, and lead to truth. A rough diamond is precious, when the beſt wrought glaſs is deſpicable: the painted oratory which beſt pleaſeth the vulgar, ill ſuits with the well-becoming gravity of a ſtatiſt." But, very ſoon afterwards, the author tells us that the unhappy ſtate of things "hath inforc'd a pen *ever before ſtill* to expoſe itſelfe to publike cenſure." The author therefore was not Milton. In the latter of theſe Tracts, publiſhed in 1644, there is a paſſage ſo minutely concurring with Milton's obſervations on the ſame ſubject, as might almoſt lead the reader to admit the juſtice of the remarker's deſignation. "[t] The nature of Man being depraved by the fall

[t] Jus Populi, pp. 42, 43. Compare Milton's reflection on the political union of the fallen Angels, *Par. Loſt*, B. ii. 496.

"O ſhame to Men! Devil with Devil damn'd
"Firm concord holds; Men only diſagree
"Of creatures rational, though under hope
"Of heavenly grace: and, God proclaiming peace,
"Yet live in hatred, enmity, and ſtrife,
"Among themſelves, and levy cruel wars,
"Waſting the earth, each other to deſtroy;

of Adam, miſeries of all ſorts broke in upon us in throngs, together with ſin; inſomuch that no creature is now ſo uncivill and untame, or ſo unfit either to live with or without ſocietie, as Man. Wolves and beares can better live without wolves and beares, than Man can without Man; yet neither are wolves nor beares ſo fell, ſo hoſtile, and ſo deſtructive to their own kinde, as Man is to his. In ſome reſpects, Man is more eſtranged from politicall union than Devils are: for by reaſon of naturall diſparitie, the reprobate Angels continue without diſſolution of order, and ſhun that confuſion amongſt themſelves which they endeavour to promote amongſt Men. But amongſt Men, nothing but curſed enmitie is to be ſeen." However, in a preceding page, the favourite topick of Milton's literary employment in 1644 is mentioned in ſuch a manner as at once deſtroys the poſſibility of his having written the treatiſe. The author is ſpeaking of *divorce* and *repudiation:* "[u] And that," he ſays, "ſeemes diſcountenanced by our Saviour, except in caſe of Adultery." This was not the doctrine of Milton.

There is in the Library of Trinity College Dublin a volume of Milton's pamphlets, in the [x] underwritten

"As if (which might induce us to accord)
"Man had not helliſh foes enow beſides,
"That, day and night, for his deſtruction wait."

[u] Jus Populi, p. 31.

[x] 1. Of Reformation touching Church Diſcipline, &c.
2. Of Prelaticall Epiſcopacy.
3. The Reaſon of Church Government, &c.
4. Animadverſions upon the Remonſtrants Defence, &c.
5. An Apology againſt a Pamphlet, &c.

order, which he had preſented to the learned Patrick Young, Charles the firſt's librarian; to whom he has prefixed a brief addreſs concluding with an expreſſion ſimilar to that in *Paradiſe Loſt*, of [y] finding fit audience, though few;—" [z] *paucis hujuſmodi lectoribus contentus.*" Whether Milton's avowal of content with a few readers, ſuch as Young, may be thought to favour Mr. [a] Warton's opinion that the proſe-works of Milton were never popular, I leave to the reader's deciſion. But I do not conceive that theſe proſe-works experienced ſo much contemporary neglect, as we have hitherto been led to believe. I find the diction, by which they are diſtinguiſhed, thus conciſely but ſtrongly commended in 1650: " [b] In truth it is very hard to write good Engliſh: and few have attained its height, in this laſt frie of books, but Mr. Milton."

To theſe anecdotes of Milton's Proſe-works, I may be permitted to ſubjoin the opinion which, generally

6. The Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce.
7. The Judgement of Martin Bucer.
8. Colaſterion.
9. Tetrachordon.
10. Areopagitica.

[y] Par. Loſt, B. vii. 31.

[z] The addreſs is written on the margin of the firſt title-page in the volume, part of which has been cut off in the binding. Mr. Cooper Walker who communicated to me the notice of this curioſity, informs me alſo that, at the top of the page, is written the name of a former poſſeſſour, Matt. Pilkington, Stamford, 1693.

[a] In his concluding note on Milton's Ode to Rouſe.

[b] An Introduction to the Teutonick Philoſophie, &c. By C. Hotham, Fellow of Peter Houſe, Engliſhed by D. F. 12mo. 1650. Preface.

ſpeaking, I entertain of them. Mr. Warton [c] has treated the proſe of Milton, both Engliſh and Latin, with almoſt unrelenting ſeverity; conceding only to the *Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica* the meed of commendation.

To ſuch deciſions I cannot ſubſcribe. At the ſame time I reproach not the diſlike, and deprecate only the acrimonious oppoſition, of others, to my own opinion; perſuaded, however, that I ſhall not want the ſupport of numbers, when I aſſert that there are various paſſages in Milton's proſe, beſides the *Tractate on Education* and the *Areopagitica*, which ſeem entitled to the praiſe of the moſt impreſſive eloquence; and that, in his Latin performances, there are abundant examples of pure as well as animated ſtyle. The accurate ſcholar rarely ceaſes indeed to be viſible either in the politician, in the controverſialiſt, or in the ſecretary. Perhaps his Engliſh ſtyle is, in general, too learned. It is obſerved by an acute critick, that, "[d] if we allow to Hooker and Milton occaſional majeſty and ſtrength, and ſometimes a peculiar felicity of expreſſion, it muſt yet be admitted, that, though uſing pure Engliſh words, the elaboration and inverſion of their periods are ſuch as to create, in the mere Engliſh reader, no ſmall difficulty in the comprehenſion of their meaning; a fault ſurely of the moſt ſerious nature, and ever productive of averſion and fatigue." Of his *Hiſtory of England* Warburton has ſaid, that "it is written with great ſimplicity, contrary to his cuſtom

[c] In his note, ut ſupra.

[d] Drake's Eſſays, &c. of Engliſh Style, vol. p. 39.

in his proſe-works; and is the better for it. But he ſometimes riſes to a ſurpriſing grandeur in the ſentiment and expreſſion, as at the concluſion of the ſecond book, *Henceforth we are to ſteer*, &c. I never ſaw any thing equal to this, but the concluſion of Sir Walter Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World." That Milton may be found virulent in theſe civil and religious ſpeculations, will not, perhaps, be denied: His pen, dipped as it ſometimes is, in the gall of puritaniſm, hurries him into the violence of rage; and he then condemns without mercy, as he judges without candour. But, at other times, his pages breathe the ſweeteſt language of ſenſibility; the abuſive ſpirit, which the turbulence of the times excited, ſinks into calmneſs; and, without ſubſcribing to his political ſentiments, we are led to admire the uncommon felicity of his expreſſion.

The hand of Milton may be often diſcovered in the publication of his nephew, Edward Phillips, entitled "*Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum*, or A compleat Collection of the Poets, eſpecially the moſt eminent, of all ages, &c.[e] Lond. 1675." Among many criticiſms in this volume, which muſt be attributed to Milton, thoſe on Shakſpeare and Marlow are eminently conſpicuous. "[f] Such criticiſms," Mr. Warton remarks, "were not common after the

[e] Kennet, in his Regiſter, mentions this work as publiſhed in 1660, p. 321. See alſo Dr. Farmer's Catalogue, p. 178, where a copy of this date alſo occurs. But the Imprimatur for Phillips's work is dated Sep. 14. 1674. And therefore the date of 1660 cannot belong to this book.

[f] Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 440.

national taſte had been juſt corrupted by the falſe and capricious refinements of the Court of Charles the ſecond." Wood alſo relates, that Phillips's "Enchiridion Linguæ Latinæ," and "Speculum Linguæ Latinæ," both publiſhed in 1684, were [g] all or moſtly taken from the *Latin Theſaurus* written by Milton. The *Satyr againſt Hypocrites*, a coarſe but ſtriking picture of the times, of which there have been ſeveral impreſſions, was alſo attributed to Milton, and once was advertiſed for ſale as his production. But his nephew Edward undeceived the world; not ſuffering the leaves of this ſuppoſititious laurel to be torn from the brow of his brother John. "[h] John Phillips, the maternal nephew and diſciple of an author of moſt deſerved fame, late deceas't, being the exacteſt of heroic poets, (if the truth were well examined, and it is the opinion of many both learned and judicious perſons,) either of the ancients or moderns, either of our own or whatever nation elſe; from whoſe education as he hath receiv'd a judicious command of ſtyle both in proſe and verſe, ſo from his own natural ingenuity he hath his vein of burleſque and facetious poetry, *which produc't the Satyr againſt Hypocrites*, &c." Nor may it be denied, that both Edward and John Phillips are the authors of various publications; although Dr. Johnſon has haſtily aſſerted the brief hiſtory of poetry to have been the [i] *only product* of

[g] Ath. Ox. vol. ii. p. 1118.

[h] Theatrum Poet, 1675. Modern Poets, pp. 114, 115.

[i] I have been favoured by John Nichols Eſq. with an Epitaph "On the excellently learned John Milton," as it appeared in The Daily Gazetteer of Oct. 30, 1738, ſaid to be written by

Milton's academy. I may defend the great critick from the cenſure, however, to which ſome [k] writers have pronounced him ſubject, of having affirmed the hiſtory to be written in Latin, which is, with a Latin title, written in Engliſh. For Wood informs us, that Phillips is the author of [l] another work ſimilar to the *Theatrum Poetarum* already mentioned, and written in the language which Dr. Johnſon has related. As Johnſon gives no ſpecifick reference to either work, it is more candid to believe him right, than to proclaim him wrong.

In the title-page to "Poems on Affairs of State from the time of Oliver Cromwell, to the Abdication of K. James the ſecond, written by the greateſt wits of the Age," and publiſhed in 1697, the name of

an *eminent author* and *one of Milton's pupils*. This pupil, however, appears to have caught none of the Miltonick taſte or ſpirit; his verſes being miſerably tame and proſaick.

[k] The annotator on the Lives of the Poets, edit. 1794, and Mr. Hayley. See alſo the Gentleman's Magazine, 1789, p. 416.

[l] Entitled "Tractatulus de carmine dramatico poetarum, præſertim in choris tragicis, et veteris Comœdiæ.

"Compendioſa enumeratio poetarum (ſaltem quorum fama maximè enituit) qui à tempore Dantis Aligerii uſque ad hanc ætatem claruerunt; nempe Italorum, Germanorum, Anglorum, &c." Theſe two things, Wood informs us, "were added to the ſeventeenth edition of Jo^h. Buchlerus his book, entit. *Sacrarum profanarúmque phraſium poeticarum Theſaurus, &c.* 1669." Ath. Ox. ut ſupr. See a liſt of the two Phillips's publications, ibid. and p. 1119. To which, perhaps, may be added a copy of verſes *Upon the incomparable poems of Mr. William Drummond*, afterwards prefixed to the works of that elegant author printed at Edinburgh in 1711, and ſigned *Edw. Phillips*. Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, ſeems much intereſted in behalf of Drummond, and expreſſes his ſorrow that in his time this charming poet ſhould be ſo little noticed.

Milton appears. But of Milton not a ſingle line will be found in this collection. The Index indeed mentions "Directions to a Painter, (concerning the Dutch War,) ſaid to be written by Sir John Denham, but believed to be written by Mr. Milton, p. 24." But, when we turn to the page, we find the poem, worthy only the loweſt poetaſter, aſcribed ſimply, but doubtleſs as unjuſtly, to Denham. Fenton, the editor of *Paradiſe Loſt* in 1725, has printed in a Miſcellany which he publiſhed, called *The Oxford Miſcellany and Cambridge Poems*, a looſe epigram under the name of Milton, which had long before appeared among the poems of Lord Rocheſter. On ſlender grounds Peck has attributed to Milton the tranſlation of Buchanan's *Baptiſtes*, which appeared in 1641, with the following title: "Tyrannical Government anatomized, or, A Diſcourſe concerning evil Counſelors: being the Life and Death of John the Baptiſt, and preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by the author." Aubrey and Wood, from different motives, would not have forborne to notice ſo remarkable a production, if it had proceeded from the pen of Milton. This tranſlation has been [m] ſuppoſed, with great probability, to have been intended as a hint, to Charles the firſt, of the danger he then incurred from the counſels of ſome about him: and the hiſtory of the Baptiſt, who loſt his head by the inſtigation of Herodias, ſeems figuratively to glance at the death of Lord Strafford, and at the influence of the Queen. Peck might have noticed a

[m] Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 387.

political pamphlet, [n] publiſhed in the following year, "by J. M:" of which the royal counſellors are the principal theme. From numerous examples I will cite one: "It is the King's crown that is aimed at, and not onely ſo, but even the very dethroning of him, and his whole poſterity; and in truth ſo it is, but by *his Majeſties evill Councellors;* who, to magnifie themſelves, intend the ruin of the Commonwealth: And is not that in effect a dethroning of his Majeſty? All that I ſhall ſay is but this: No Government more bleſt or happie, *if not abuſed by the advice of vile and malignant Counſellours*, p. 3." From the following paſſage ſome readers may ſuſpect J. M., the author of this pamphlet, to be Milton: "Freedome, as it is a great mercy, ſo it ought of temporal bleſſings, next to our lives, to receive the greateſt eſtimate; the ſlavery of the body is the uſher to the thraldome of conſcience; and if we fooliſhly ſurrender up this, the other will not be long after! p. 12." But, in p. 20, there is ſufficient proof, that Milton could not have written it: "What have we to do with Ariſtocracy, or Democracy? God be bleſſed, we nor know, nor deſire, *any other government than that of Monarchy!*" Peck, therefore, if he had ſeen this pamphlet, found that, notwithſtanding it harmonized in a conſiderable degree with the ſubject of the poetical tranſlation, it could not be rendered ſubſervient to his hypotheſis. Milton, in the account he gives of himſelf, appears indeed to have been no

[n] Entitled, "A Reply to the Anſwer (printed by his Majeſties command at Oxford) to a printed Booke intituled 'Obſervations upon ſome of his Majeſties late Anſwers and Expreſſes.' By J. M. London, printed for M. Walbancke, 1642." 4°.

friend to tranſlations: "I never could delight in long citations, much leſs in whole traductions; whether it be natural diſpoſition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a ſpeaker of what God made mine own, and not a tranſlator [o]." He is ſaid to have declined tranſlating Homer.

Of literary aſſiſtance, afforded by Milton to literary friends, we have no anecdotes. I conjecture, however, that the younger Lawrence, to whom he has addreſſed an excellent Sonnet, had at leaſt profited by his diſcourſe; for Lawrence has given to the world a treatiſe on a ſubject, of which Milton was particularly fond: "Of our Communion and Warre with Angels. Printed in 1646." The Sonnet records their friendly viſits. Lawrence lived in the neighbourhood of Horton. To Lawrence, as to Milton, the "[p] *Tuſcan* ſong" ſeems to have been a principal delight. We may reaſonably then ſuppoſe, that they ſometimes converſed upon the remarkable effuſions of the [q] *Tuſcan* muſe, (among other authorities,) on the guardianſhip of Angels; that Milton perhaps acknowledged the hints he had derived from his beloved poetry; and that the converſation encouraged Lawrence in his deſign.

[o] Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 407, ed. 1[illegible]5.

[p] See the Sonnet, ver. 12, and the note on the Sonnet.

[q] The Addreſſes of the Italian Muſe *All' Angelo Cuſtode* are frequent. See "Rime del M. A. M. Negriſoli, Vineg. 1552," p. 129, and "Sonetti di Diverſi Accademici Saneſi, Sien. 1608," pp. 136, 200, 239, &c. I might alſo add the frequent introduction of a *Spirit* or *Angel* as the annunziatore to the early Italian dramas. See Milton's Verſes addreſſed to Leonora Baroni, his prologue to *Comus*, and the ſame poem throughout.

The remains of Milton were attended to the grave by "[r] all his learned and great friends in London, not without a friendly concourſe of the vulgar." He was buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate. In Auguſt, 1790, the ſpot, where his body had been depoſited, was opened; and a corpſe, haſtily ſuppoſed to be his, was expoſed to publick view. A Narrative of the diſinterment of the coffin, and of the treatment of the corpſe, was publiſhed by Philip Neve, Eſq. The Narrative was immediately and ably anſwered in the St. James's Chronicle, in Nine Reaſons why it is improbable that the coffin, lately dug up in the Pariſh Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, ſhould contain the reliques of Milton. Mr. Neve added a Poſtſcript to his Narrative. But all his labour appears to have been employed in an imaginary cauſe. The late Mr. Steevens, who particularly lamented the indignity which the nominal aſhes of the poet ſuſtained, has intimated in his [s] manuſcript remarks on this Narrative and Poſtſcript, that the diſinterred corpſe was ſuppoſed to be that of a *female*, and that the minuteſt examination of the fragments could not diſprove, if it did not confirm, the ſuppoſition. Mr. Lofft, noticing the burial of the poet in St. Giles's church, has eloquently cenſured "[t] the ſordid miſchief committed in it, and

[r] Toland's Life of Milton, prefixed to the edition of Milton's Proſe-works, printed (not at Amſterdam as aſſerted in the title-page,) but at London, in 1698, fol. p. 46.

[s] Now in the poſſeſſion of James Bindley, Eſq; by whom I have been favoured with the peruſal of them.

[t] Preface to his edition of the firſt book of Paradiſe Loſt, 1792, p. xxx.

the market made of the eagerneſs with which curioſity or admiration prompted perſons to poſſeſs themſelves of his ſuppoſed remains, which, however, there is reaſon to believe, far from being Milton's, were the bones of a perſon *not of the ſame age or ſex*. It were to be wiſhed that neither ſuperſtition, affectation, idle curioſity, or avarice, were ſo frequently invading the ſilence of the grave. Far from honouring the illuſtrious dead, it is rather outraging the common condition of humanity, and laſt melancholy ſtate in which our preſent exiſtence terminates. Duſt and aſhes have no intelligence to give, whether beauty, genius, or virtue, informed the animated clay. A tooth of Homer or Milton will not be diſtinguiſhed from one of a common mortal; nor a bone of Alexander acquaint us with more of his character than one of Bucephalus. Though the dead be unconcerned, the living are neither benefited nor improved: decency is violated, and a kind of inſtinctive ſympathy infringed, which, though it ought not to overpower reaſon, ought not without it, and to no purpoſe, to be ſuperſeded. But whether the remains of that body which once was Milton's, or thoſe of any other perſon were thus expoſed and ſet to ſale, death and diſſolution have had their empire over theſe. The ſpirit of his immortal works ſurvives invulnerable, and muſt ſurvive. Theſe are his beſt image, theſe the reliques which a rational admiration may cheriſh and revere!"

It has been obſerved that the original ſtone, laid on the grave of Milton, was [u] removed not many

[u] See before, note [q] p. 125, 126.

years after his interment. Nor were his remains honoured by any other memorial in Cripplegate church, till the year 1793; when, by the munificence of the late Mr. Whitbread, an animated marble buſt, the ſculpture of Bacon, under which is a plain tablet, recording the dates of the poet's birth and death, and of his father's deceaſe, was erected in the middle aiſle. *To the Author of Paradiſe Loſt* a ſimilar tribute of reſpect had been paid, in 1737, by Mr. Benſon; who procured his buſt to be admitted, where once his name had been deemed a profanation, into Weſtminſter Abbey. And the reception of the monument into this venerable edifice became immediately the theme of the muſes [x].

Milton, in his youth, is ſaid to have been extremely [y] handſome. He was called the Lady of his

[x] By the ſpirited lines of Dr. George, which are referred to, at the cloſe of vol. 7, and which have been alſo aſcribed, as I have been informed, to the Hon. Thomas Townſhend, father of the late Lord Sidney: and by the elegant verſes of Vincent Bourne, noticed in the ſame volume, which were ſuppoſed to be written by Mr. Keith, but which will be found in the edition of Bourne's Poems printed in 1772, though in an earlier edition which I have ſeen, I do not meet with them.

[y] The firſt publiſhed portrait of Milton was that by Marſhall, prefixed to the edition of the juvenile poems in 1645. With the palpable diſſimilitude of this portrait Milton was juſtly diſpleaſed. See the Note *In Effigiei Sculptorem*, vol. vii. p. 303. In the year 1670, there was another plate, by Faithorne, from a drawing in crayons by Faithorne, prefixed to his *Hiſtory* of Britain, with this legend; "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum delin. et ſculpſit. Joannis Miltoni effigies, Ætat. 62. 1670." It is alſo prefixed to the edition of his *Proſe Works* in 1698. It has been obſerved, that this engraving is not in Faithorne's beſt manner. The print has

College; an appellation which Mr. Hayley ſays he

been ſeveral times copied. By an ingenious young artiſt a new drawing was taken from Faithorne's picture, (ſuppoſed to be the beſt likeneſs extant of the poet, and for which he ſat at the age of ſixty-two,) by the kind permiſſion of William Baker, Eſq. in whoſe poſſeſſion it now is; from which an engraving was made for my firſt edition of Milton's poetical works. From the ſame picture the neat engraving in the preſent edition is alſo made. Faithorne's print is copied by W. Dolle, before Milton's *Logick*, 1672. Dolle's print is likewiſe prefixed to the ſecond edition of *Paradiſe Loſt*. Faithorne was alſo copied afterwards by Robert White, and next by Vertue. Mr. Warton has given many other particulars of paintings and engravings of Milton.

"There are four or five original pictures of our author. The firſt, a half length with a laced ruff, is by Cornelius Janſen, in 1618, when he was only a boy of ten years old. It had belonged to Milton's widow, his third wife, who lived in Cheſhire. This was in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Thomas Hollis, having been purchaſed at Mr. Charles Stanhope's ſale for thirty one guineas, in June, 1760. Lord Harrington wiſhing to have the lot returned, Mr. Hollis replied, 'his lordſhip's whole eſtate ſhould not repurchaſe it.' It was engraved by J. B. Cipriani, in 1760. Mr. Stanhope bought it of the executors of Milton's widow, for twenty guineas. The late Mr. Hollis, when his lodgings in Covent-garden were on fire, walked calmly out of the houſe with this picture by Janſen in his hand, neglecting to ſecure any other portable article of value. I preſume it is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Brand Hollis. Another, which had alſo belonged to Milton's widow, is in the poſſeſſion of the Onſlow family. This, which is not at all like Faithorne's crayon-drawing, and by ſome is ſuſpected not to be a portrait of Milton, has been more than once engraved by Vertue: who in his firſt plate of it, dated 1731, and in others, makes the age twenty-one. This has been alſo engraved by Houbraken in 1741, and by Cipriani. The ruff is much in the neat ſtyle of painting ruffs, about and before 1628. The picture is handſomer than the engravings. This portrait is mentioned in Aubrey's manuſcript Life of Milton, 1681, as then belonging to the widow. And he ſays, 'MEM. *Write his name in red letters on his pictures which his widow has, to preſerve them.*'

could not reliſh; and I may add that he might be

Vertue, in a Letter to Mr. Chriſtian the ſeal engraver, in the Britiſh Muſeum, about 1720, propoſes to aſk Prior the poet, whether there had not been a picture of Milton in the late lord Dorſet's Collection. The ducheſs of Portland has [had] a miniature of his head, when young; the face has a ſtern thoughtfulneſs, and, to uſe his own expreſſion, is *ſevere in youthful beauty*. Before Peck's *New Memoirs of Milton*, printed 1740, is a pretended head of Milton in exquiſite mezzotinto, done by the ſecond J. Faber: which is characteriſtically unlike any other repreſentation of our author I remember to have ſeen. It is from a painting given to Peck by ſir John Meres of Kirkby-Belers in Leiceſterſhire. But Peck himſelf knew that he was impoſing upon the publick. For having aſked Vertue whether he thought it a picture of Milton, and Vertue peremptorily anſwering in the negative, Peck replied, 'I'll have a ſcraping from it, however; and let poſterity ſettle the difference.' Beſides, in this picture the left hand is on a book, lettered *Paradiſe Loſt*. But Peck ſuppoſes the age about twenty-five, when Milton had never thought of that poem or ſubject. Peck mentions a head done by Milton himſelf on board: but it does not appear to be authenticated.

"The Richardſons, and next the Tonſons, [before Mr. Baker,] had the admirable crayon-drawing above-mentioned. About the year 1725, Vertue carried this drawing, with other reputed engravings and paintings of Milton, to Milton's favourite daughter Deborah, a very ſenſible woman, who died the wife of Abraham Clark a weaver in Spitalfields, in 1727, aged 76. He contrived to have them brought into the room as if by accident, while he was converſing with her. At ſeeing the drawing, taking no notice of the reſt, ſhe ſuddenly cried out in great ſurpriſe, '*O Lord, that is the picture of my father! How came you by it?*' And, ſtroking down the hair of her forehead, added, '*Juſt ſo my father wore his hair.*' She was very like Milton. Compare Richardſon, *Explan. Notes*, p. xxxvi. This head, by Faithorne, was etched by Richardſon the father about 1734, with the addition of a laurel-crown to help the propriety of the motto. It is before the *Explanatory Notes on the Paradiſe Loſt*, by the Richardſons. Lond. 1734. 8vo. The buſts prefixed to Milton's *Proſe-Works* by Birch 1738, and by Baron 1753, are engraved by Vertue from

leſs inclined to be pleaſed with the title, as, at that period,

a bad drawing made by J. Richardſon, after an original caſt in plaiſter about fifty. Of this caſt Mr. Hollis gave a drawing by Cipriani to Speaker Onſlow in 1759. It was executed, perhaps on the publication of the *Defenſio*, by one Pierce an artiſt of ſome note, the ſame who did the marble buſt of ſir Chriſtopher Wren in the Bodleian library, or by Abraham Simon. Mr. Hollis bought it of Vertue. It has been remodelled in wax by Goſſet. Richardſon the father alſo etched this buſt for *The Poems and Critical Eſſays* of S. Say, 1745, 4to. But, I believe, this is the ſame etching that I have mentioned above, to have been made by old Richardſon 1734, and which was now lent to Say's editor, 1745, for Say's *Eſſays*.

" There is, however, another etching of Milton, by Richardſon, the younger, before he was blind, and when much younger than fifty, accompanied with ſix bombaſt verſes. ' Authentick Homer, &c.' The verſes are ſubſcribed ' J. R. jun.' The drawings, as well as engravings of Milton by Cipriani, are many. There is a drawing of our author by Deacon: it is taken from a proof-impreſſion on wax of a ſeal by Thomas Simon, Cromwell's chief mint-maſter, firſt in the hands of Mr. Yeo, afterwards of Mr. Hollis. This, a profile, has been lately engraved by Ryland. Mr. Hollis had a ſmall ſteel puncheon of Milton's head, a full front, for a ſeal or ring, by the ſame T. Simon, who did many more of Milton's party in the ſame way. The medal of Milton ſtruck by Tanner, for auditor Benſon, is after the old plaiſter-buſt, and Faithorne's crayon-piece, chiefly the latter. So is the marble buſt in the Abbey, by Ryſbrack, 1737. Scheemaker's marble buſt, for Dr. Mead, and bought at his ſale by Mr. Duncombe, was profeſſedly and exactly copied from the plaiſter-buſt. Faithorne's is the moſt common repreſentation of Milton's head. Either that, or the Onſlow picture, are the heads in Bentley's, and Tickell's, and Newton's editions. All by Vertue. Milton's daughter Deborah above-mentioned, the daughter of his firſt wife, and his amanuenſis, told Vertue, that " her father was of a fair complexion, a little red in his cheeks, and light brown lank hair." *Letter to Mr. Chriſtian*, ut ſupr. MS. Br. Muſ.

" Since theſe imperfect and haſty notices were thrown together, ſir Joſhua Reynolds has purchaſed a picture of Milton for one

the appearance of effeminacy was attacked from the

hundred guineas. It was brought to ſir Joſhua, 1784, by one Mr. Hunt, a printſeller and picture-dealer, who bought it of a broker; but the broker does not know the perſon of whom he had it. The portrait is dreſſed in black, with a band; and the painter's mark and date are 'S. C. 1653.' This is written on the back. 'This picture belonged to Deborah Milton, who was her father's amanuenſis: at her death was ſold to ſir W. Davenant's family. It was painted by Mr. Samuel Cooper, who was painter to Oliver Cromwell, at the time Milton was Latin Secretary to the Protector. The painter and poet were near of the ſame age; Milton was born in 1608, and died in 1674, and Cooper was born in 1609, and died in 1672, and were companions and friends till death parted them. Several encouragers and lovers of the fine arts at that time wanted this picture; particularly Lord Dorſet, John Somers eſquire, ſir Robert Howard, Dryden, Atterbury, Dr. Aldrich, and ſir John Denham.' Lord Dorſet was probably the lucky man; for this ſeems to be the very picture for which, as I have before obſerved, Vertue wiſhed Prior to ſearch in Lord Dorſet's collection. Sir Joſhua Reynolds ſays, 'The picture is admirably painted, and with ſuch a character of nature, that I am perfectly ſure it was a ſtriking likeneſs. I have now a different idea of the countenance of Milton, which cannot be got from any of the other pictures that I have ſeen. It is perfectly preſerved, which ſhows that it has been ſhut up in ſome drawer; if it had been expoſed to the light, the colours would long before this have vaniſhed.' It muſt be owned, that this miniature of Milton, lately purchaſed by ſir Joſhua Reynolds, ſtrongly reſembles Vandyke's picture of Selden in the Bodleian library at Oxford: and it is highly probable that Cooper ſhould have done a miniature of Selden as a companion to the heads of other heroes of the commonwealth. For Cooper painted Oliver Cromwell, in the poſſeſſion of the Frankland family; and another, in profile, at Devonſhire houſe: Richard Cromwell at Strawbery-hill: Secretary Thurloe, belonging to Lord James Cavendiſh: and Ireton, Cromwell's general, now or late in the collection of Charles Polhill eſq. a deſcendant of Cromwell. The inference, however, might be applied to prove, that this head is

pulpit: " [z] We live in an age," ſays biſhop Lake, "wherein it is hard to ſay, whether in cloathes *men grow*

Cooper's miniature of Milton. It has been copied by a female artiſt, in a ſtyle of uncommon elegance and accuracy."

The genuineneſs of this miniature, as the portrait of Milton, has been both aſſerted, and denied, with conſiderable warmth. See the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, pp. 399, 603, 806. The diſputants are Lord Hailes and Sir Joſhua himſelf. Moſt connoiſſeurs are inclined to believe the portrait to be that of Selden. Sir Joſhua Reynolds, who died in 1792, makes the following bequeſt, however, in his Will, to the Rev. William Maſon: "*The miniature of Milton by Cooper.*" See Malone's Life of Sir J. Reynolds, prefixed to the Works of Sir J. R. vol. i. p. cxviii, 2d edit.

Two miniatures of the poet, and of his mother, were ſold, at the ſale of the Portland Muſeum in 1786, for 34 l. See Gent. Mag. 1786, p. 527. In 1792 Mr. Elderton ſubmitted to the publick the outlines of a ſuppoſed miniature of the poet in his poſſeſſion. See Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 17. In 1797 a maſterly engraving, from an original picture in the poſſeſſion of Capel Lofft eſq. believed alſo to be that of Milton, was made by G. Quinton. At Weſt Wycombe Manor-houſe, in Buckinghamſhire, there is a fine portrait of Milton, ſuppoſed to be an original. See Langley's Hiſt. and Antiq. of the Hundred of Deſborough, C°. of Bucks, 1797, p. 417. I have been indebted to the kindneſs of the late John Charnock jun. eſq. of Greenwich, for an excellent original painting, affirmed by ſome to have been a portrait of Milton, by Dobſon, but conjectured by others to have been a performance of Riley, who lived rather too late to delineate Milton. Some have ſuppoſed it may be a head of his brother Chriſtopher. It is, however, remarkable, that Mr. Greenſlade, a collector of paintings, who reſides in Bond-ſtreet, London, has a copy of this very painting, which has been called a portrait of the poet. Mr. Waldron is in poſſeſſion of a painting, which exhibits a likeneſs of the poet in his middle age. To the modern engravings of the poet may be added an intereſting one by Mr. Silveſter Harding, from a painting in the poſſeſſion of the late Lord Orford.

[z] Sermons preached at Wells by biſhop Lake, fol. 1629, p. 67.

more womanniſh, or women more manniſh!" Milton had a very fine ſkin and freſh complexion. His hair was of a light brown; and, parted on the foretop, hung down in curls upon his ſhoulders. His features were regular; and when turned of forty, he has himſelf told us, he was generally allowed to have had the appearance of being ten years younger. He has alſo repreſented himſelf as a man of moderate ſtature, neither too lean nor too corpulent; and ſo far endued with ſtrength and ſpirit, that, as he always wore a ſword, he wanted not, while light reviſited his eyes, the ſkill or the courage to uſe it. His eyes were of a greyiſh colour; which, when deprived of ſight, did not betray their loſs: At firſt view, and at a ſmall diſtance, it was difficult to know that he was blind. The teſtimony of Aubrey reſpecting the perſon of Milton is happily expreſſed: "His harmonicall and ingenioſe ſoul did lodge in a beautiful and well proportioned body." Milton's voice [a] was muſically ſweet, as his ear was muſically correct. Wood deſcribes his deportment to have been affable, and his gait erect and manly, beſpeaking courage and undauntedneſs. Of his figure in his declining days Richardſon has left the following ſketches. "[b] An ancient clergyman of Dorſetſhire, Dr. Wright, found John Milton in a ſmall chamber hung with ruſty green, ſitting in an elbow chair, and dreſſed neatly in black, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk ſtones.—He uſed alſo to ſit in a gray coarſe cloth coat, at the door of his houſe near Bunhill-fields, in warm

[a] Aubrey ſays that "he had a delicate tunable voice," and that "he pronounced the letter R very hard."

[b] Life of Milton, 1734, p. iv.

ſunny weather, to enjoy the freſh air; and ſo, as well as in his room, received the viſits of people of diſtinguiſhed parts as well as quality."

His domeſtick habits were thoſe of a ſober and temperate ſtudent. Of wine, or of any ſtrong liquours, he drank little. In his diet he was rarely influenced by delicacy of choice. He once delighted in walking and uſing exerciſe; and appears to have amuſed himſelf in botanical purſuits: but, after he was confined by age and blindneſs, he had a machine to ſwing in for the preſervation of his health. In ſummer he then reſted in bed from nine to four, in winter to five. If, at theſe hours, he was not diſpoſed to riſe, he had a perſon by his bed-ſide to read to him. When he firſt roſe, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and commonly ſtudied till twelve; then uſed ſome exerciſe for an hour; then dined; [c] afterwards played on the organ or baſs-viol, and either ſung himſelf or made his wife ſing, who, he ſaid, had a good voice but no ear. It is related that, when educating his nephews, "[d] he had made them *ſongſters*, and ſing from the time they were with him." No poet, it may be obſerved, has more frequently or more powerfully commended the charms of muſick than Milton. He wiſhed perhaps to rival, and he has ſucceſsfully rivalled, the

[c] See his own obſervations, in his treatiſe *Of Education*. "The interim of unſweating themſelves regularly, and convenient reſt before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and compoſing their travailed ſpirits with the ſolemn and divine harmonies of muſick heard or learned, &c. *The like alſo would not be unexpedient after meat*, to aſſiſt and cheriſh nature in her firſt concoction, and ſend their minds back to ſtudy in good tune and ſatisfaction."

[d] Aubrey's MS.

ſweeteſt deſcriptions of a favourite bard, whom the melting voice appears to have often enchanted; the tender Petrarch. After his regular indulgence in muſical relaxation, he ſtudied till ſix; then entertained his viſitors till eight; then enjoyed a light ſupper; and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glaſs of water, retired to bed.

It has been obſerved by Dr. Newton that all, who had written any accounts of the life of Milton, agreed that he was affable and inſtructive in converſation, of an equal and cheerful temper; "yet I can eaſily believe," ſays the learned biographer, "that he had a ſufficient ſenſe of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adverſaries." Milton acknowledges his own "honeſt *haughtineſs* and *ſelf-eſteem*," with which, however, he profeſſes to have united a becoming "*modeſty* [e]." Aubrey notices that he as "ſatyrical."

His literature was immenſe. Of the Hebrew, with its two dialects, and of the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spaniſh languages, he was a maſter. In Latin, Dr. Johnſon obſerves, his ſkill was ſuch as places him in the firſt rank of writers and criticks. In the Italian he was alſo particularly ſkilled. His Sonnets in that language have received the higheſt commendations from Italian criticks, both of his own and of modern times [f]. If he had written generally in Italian, it has been ſuppoſed, by the late lord Orford, that he would have been the moſt perfect poet in modern languages; for his own ſtrength of thought would have condenſed and hardened that ſpeech to a

[e] Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 177. ed. 1698.

[f] See alſo Algarotti's ingenious criticiſm on his works. Opere del Conte Algarotti, Ven. 1794, tom. x. p. 39, &c.

proper degree. The Academy Della Cruſca conſulted him on the critical niceties of their language. In his early days indeed he had become deeply enamoured of "the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura* [g]." It has been rightly remarked, that he read almoſt all authors, and improved by all: He relates himſelf, that his "round of ſtudy and reading was ceaſeleſs."

His favourite book was the Book of God. To Milton, when a child, Revelation opened not her richeſt ſtores in vain. To devotional ſubjects his infant ſtrains were dedicated; and never did "his harp forget" to acknowledge the aids which he derived from the Muſe of ſacred inſpiration. The remark of Gibbon that [h] the ſublime genius of Milton was cramped by the ſyſtem of our religion, and never appeared to ſo great an advantage as when he ſhook it a little off, will be admitted by few. It is a juſt and admirable obſervation of Mr. Hayley, that, "if ſome paſſionate admirers of antiquity ſeem to lament the fall of paganiſm, as fatal to poetry, to painting, and to ſculpture, a more liberal and enlightened ſpirit of criticiſm may rather believe, what is very poſſible, I apprehend, to demonſtrate, that Chriſtianity can hardly be more favourable to the purity of morals, than it might be rendered to the perfection of theſe delightful arts. Milton himſelf may be regarded as an obvious and complete proof, that the poſition is true as far as poetry is concerned." The *Meſſiah* of Klopſtock, and particularly the *Calvary* of Cumberland, may be added as fine examples of the connection between

[g] Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 177, ed. 1698.

[h] Eſſay on the Study of Literature, 1764, p. 24.

true religion and poetry. When modern Republicaniſm pretends to conſider Milton as her auxiliary, let her remember, with ſhame, the ſanctity of manners which his pages breathe, and the Chriſtian leſſons which they inculcate. To *him* "ſight more deteſtable," than the object of her hopes could not poſſibly be preſented. The deſigns of the crafty ſenſualiſt, and of the beſotted ungrateful atheiſt, it was *his* conſtant endeavour, not to promote, but to overthrow. "It muſt gratify every Chriſtian to reflect," ſays Mr. Hayley, "that the man of our country moſt eminent for energy of mind, for intenſeneſs of application, and for frankneſs and intrepidity in aſſerting whatever he believed to be the cauſe of truth, was ſo confirmedly devoted to Chriſtianity, that he ſeems to have made the Bible, not only the rule of his conduct, but the prime director of his genius.—Nor ſhould I omit his own manly anticipation of applauſe: "[i] Hoping that his name might deſerve to appear, not among the mercenary crew of falſe pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous ſort of ſuch as evidently were born for ſtudy, and love learning for itſelf, not for lucre, or any other end but the ſervice of God and truth, and perhaps that laſting fame and perpetuity of praiſe which God and good men have conſented ſhall be the reward of thoſe whoſe publiſhed labours advance the good of mankind."

The claſſical books, in which he is repreſented to have moſt delighted, were Homer, Ovid's Metamorphoſes, and Euripides. The firſt he could almoſt entirely repeat. Of the laſt he is ſaid to have been

[i] In his *Areopagitica*.

a reader, not only with the taſte of a poet, but with the [k] minuteneſs of a Greek critick. His Euripides, in two volumes, Paul Stephens's quarto edition of 1602, with many marginal emendations in his own hand, is now the property of Mr. Cradock of Gumly in Leiceſterſhire. Of theſe notes ſome have been adopted by Joſhua Barnes, and ſome have been lately printed by Mr. Jodrell. In the firſt volume, page the firſt, is the name of John Milton, with the price of the book at 12s. 6d., and the date of the year 1634. I have to notice the exiſtence of another treaſure, bearing alſo the ſame date, the price 3s., and the name of John Milton, written by himſelf on the blank page oppoſite the title; his copy of Lycophron, with his own marginal obſervations. Of this remarkable curioſity I received my information from Mr. Walker, by whom it had been [l] inſpected in the library of Lord Charlemont. From Milton himſelf we learn, that "the divine volumes of Plato and his equall Xenophon" were principal objects of his regard; and that he preferred Salluſt to all the Roman hiſtorians. Demoſthenes has been ſuppoſed, by Lord Monboddo and Mr. Hayley, to have been ſtudied by him minutely and ſucceſsfully. On contemporary authors Milton has beſtowed little praiſe. Dr. Newton notices that he has condeſcended, more than once, to applaud Selden; but that he ſeems diſpoſed to cenſure, rather than commend, the reſt. He has

[k] See Warton's 2d edit. of the Smaller Poems, p. 568. And Jodrell's Illuſtrations of Euripides, 1781, pp. 34, 336.

[l] My friend, the Rev. Mr. Meen, has ſince been favoured with the uſe of this volume. And it is to be hoped, that his excellent verſion of Lycophron, accompanied with his own acute remarks, as well as Milton's marginal obſervations, on this author, will ſoon be preſented to the publick.

extolled however, in his *Areopagitica*, the merits of Lord Brooke, who had lately fallen in the ſervice of the Parliament, and had written a treatiſe *againſt the Engliſh epiſcopacy*, and *againſt the danger of Sects and Schiſms*, in terms of ſuperabundant eulogy. He has alſo ſpoken of John Cameron, a learned divine and commentator, in terms of high reſpect; calling him "[m] a late writer, much applauded," as alſo "[n] an ingenious writer and in high eſteem."

His political principles were thoſe of a thorough republican; which have been aſcribed, by Dr. Johnſon, to a native violence of temper, and to a hatred of all whom he was required to obey. The frequent aſperity of this eminent biographer towards Milton, has been repeatedly noticed, by Mr. Hayley, with reprehenſion and regret; and in the following inſtance, with all the eloquence and dignity of ſublime inſtruction.

"There can hardly be any contemplation more painful, than to dwell on the virulent exceſſes of eminent and good men; yet the utility of ſuch contemplation may be equal to its pain. What mildneſs and candour ſhould it not inſtil into ordinary mortals to obſerve, that even genius and virtue weaken their title to reſpect, in proportion as they recede from that evangelical charity, which ſhould influence every man in his judgement of another.

"The ſtrength and the acuteneſs of ſenſation, which partly conſtitute genius, have a great tendency to produce virulence, if the mind is not perpetually on its guard againſt that ſubtle, inſinuating, and corroſive paſſion, hatred againſt all whoſe opinions are oppoſite to our own. Johnſon profeſſed, in one of his letters, to love a good hater; and, in the Latin correſpondence of Milton, there are words that imply a ſimilarity of ſentiment; they both thought there might be a ſanctified bitterneſs, to uſe an expreſſion of Milton, towards

[m] In his *Tetrachordon*. [n] Ibid.

political and religious opponents; yet ſurely theſe two devout men were both wrong, and both in ſome degree unchriſtian in this principle. To what ſingular iniquities of judgement ſuch a principle may lead, we might, perhaps, have had a moſt ſtriking, and a double proof, had it been poſſible for theſe two energetick writers to exhibit alternately a portrait of each other. Milton, adorned with every graceful endowment, highly and holily accompliſhed as he was, appears, in the dark colouring of Johnſon, a moſt unamiable being; but could he reviſit earth in his mortal character, with a wiſh to retaliate, what a picture might be drawn, by that ſublime and offended genius, of the great moraliſt, who has treated him with ſuch exceſs of aſperity. The paſſions are powerful colouriſts, and marvellous adepts in the art of exaggeration; but the portraits executed by love (famous as he is for overcharging them) are infinitely more faithful to nature, than gloomy ſketches from the heavy hand of hatred; a paſſion not to be truſted or indulged even in minds of the higheſt purity or power; ſince hatred, though it may enter the field of conteſt under the banner of juſtice, yet generally becomes ſo blind and outrageous, from the heat of contention, as to execute, in the name of virtue, the worſt purpoſes of vice. Hence ariſes that ſpecies of calumny the moſt to be regretted, the calumny laviſhed by men of talents and worth on their equals or ſuperiours, whom they have raſhly and blindly hated for a difference of opinion. To ſuch hatred the fervid and oppoſite characters, who gave riſe to this obſervation, were both more inclined, perhaps, by nature and by habit, than Chriſtianity can allow. The freedom of theſe remarks on two very great, and equally devout, though different writers, may poſſibly offend the partizans of both: in that caſe my conſolation will be, that I have endeavoured to ſpeak of them with that temperate though undaunted ſincerity, which may ſatisfy the ſpirit of each in a purer ſtate of exiſtence."

By controverſy, and by the indulgence of early prejudices, Milton was undoubtedly ſoured. But,

if the conceptions of his mind may be taken from his poetry, he will not be thought to have been by nature unamiable. Of Milton, however he might be miſtaken in the means, the conſtant aim and end was liberty. Yet with the love of liberty who will aſſert his attachment to Cromwell to have been conſiſtent? But he is [o] ſuppoſed to have been deceived by the matchleſs hypocriſy of that uſurper; and, in the uprightneſs of his mind, not to have ſuſpected the falſe diſſembler as adverſe to his own ſpirit of freedom. Still it may be wondered that he, who ſo well knew the nature of *true liberty*, which

——— " always with right reaſon dwells
" Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being;"

it may be wondered that he, I ſay, ſhould not have timely perceived the deſigns of *the tyrant whom he ſerved*. Influenced by his uprightneſs, however, he had before offered to Cromwell, with undaunted zeal, a ſolemn and energetick [p] leſſon of conduct. Nor was Milton exactly that friend to the *majeſty of the people*, which the *modern illuminators* of the world have imagined. For, to that pretended ſovereignty, what greater inſult can be offered than the appellations, with which he has diſtinguiſhed *the people*, of a [q] " herd confus'd, a miſcellaneous rabble!" The well-known expreſſion of [r] Burke muſt yield to theſe kindred phraſes.

[o] See the Note on *Par. Loſt*, B. iii. 683.

[p] Def. Sec. Proſe-Works, vol. iii. p. 109, ed. 1698.

[q] Par. Regained, B. iii. 49.

[r] See the Notes on *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 49. Burke, I may obſerve, was an ardent admirer of Milton. I learn, from Mr. Walker, that this great orator was a diſtinguiſhed member of a Literary Club, inſtituted in Dublin in 1747, in which he ſome-

The theological ſentiments of Milton are ſaid to have been often changed; from Puritaniſm to Calviniſm; from Calviniſm to an eſteem for Arminius; and finally, from an accordance with Independents [t] and

times held the ſecretary's pen, and ſometimes filled the preſident's chair; and that, in the original minutes of this ſociety, his early Miltonick taſte is thus recorded. "Friday, June 5th. 1747. Mr. Burke, being ordered to ſpeak the ſpeech of Moloch, *receives applauſe for the delivery; it being in character:* Then the ſpeech was read, and criticiſed upon; its many beauties illuſtrated; the chief judged to be its conformity with the character of Moloch:

——— 'No; let us rather chooſe,
'Arm'd with Hell-flames and fury, all at once
'O'er Heaven's high towers to force reſiſtleſs way.'

The words 'all at once' (the metre not conſidered) ſeemed, to the whole aſſembly, to hurt the ſentence by ſtopping the rapidity, and checking the fierceneſs, of it; making it too long and tedious. Then was Belial's ſpeech read, to the great delight of the hearers; whoſe opinion was, that Homer only can be compared to Milton, not only for the beauties that ſhine in every verſe, but likewiſe for the juſt and lively colours in which each character was drawn; for that none but Homer, like him, ever ſupported ſuch ſpirit and exactneſs in the ſpeeches of ſuch a contraſt and variety of perſons." Theſe notices will not ſeem tedious; for they ſuggeſt an opinion, that the fineſt oratory of modern times might owe its origin, and perfection, to the poetry of Milton.

[t] See before, p. 64. Petit, in his *Viſion of Purgatory*, publiſhed in 1685, introduces Milton in converſation with a Provincial of the Jeſuits, to whom "the fanatical rebels of England" are deſcribed as "imps;" and, "becauſe Milton was a man of ſingular eloquence," the author repreſents him, as ſpiritedly expoſtulating with the Provincial for being "denied the honour which is ſo eaſily granted to men vaſtly beneath my merits and deſerts; for what can any man doe for the promotion of *your intereſts* that I have not done?" pp. 98, 99, &c.

Anabaptiſts, to a dereliction of every denomination of Proteſtants. From any heretical peculiarity of opinion he was free. Dr. Newton conſiders him as a *Quietiſt*, full of the interiour of religion, though he ſo little regarded the exteriour. Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that "he grew old without any viſible worſhip; but, that he lived without prayer, can hardly be affirmed; his ſtudies and meditations were an habitual prayer." From a remark of Toland, that, "in the latter part of his life, Milton frequented none of the aſſemblies of any particular ſect of Chriſtians, *nor made uſe of their particular rites in his family*," have ariſen aſſertions without proofs, by other biographers, that "*he did not uſe any religious rite*," and that "*he never uſed prayer in his family*." I am inclined to believe that he, who, in his divine poem, ſo carefully deſcribes the morning and evening worſhip of our firſt parents, the firſt and laſt hours of the day employed in devotion, could hardly be negligent of reverence to God in his own houſhold. I muſt not, however, withhold from notice a ſtrange aſſertion of Milton, reſpecting prayer: "[u] I believe that God is no more moved with a prayer elaborately penned, than men truly charitable are moved with the penned ſpeech of a beggar!" To his determination of aſſociating with no Church we owe the maſterly and judicious obſervation of Johnſon: "To be of no Church is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are diſtant, and which is animated only by Faith and Hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unleſs it be in-

[u] Eiconoclaſtes, Proſe-Works, vol. ii. p. 511. ed. 1698.

vigorated and reimpreſſed by external ordinances, by ſtated calls to worſhip, and the ſalutary influence of example." Of our liturgy, as of epiſcopacy, Milton has often expreſſed his contempt. He is [x] ſaid to have been a principal founder of the Calves-Head Club; a feſtival, which began to be held, during the uſurpation, on the thirtieth of January; *in oppoſition* to Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the Church of England, who met privately to lament that day, in [y] *a form of prayer*, little different from what we now find in the liturgy.

Milton's circumſtances were never very affluent. The eſtate left him by his father was but ſmall. In the civil war he ſuſtained the loſs of a conſiderable perſonal property, which he had lent to the Parliament. As Latin Secretary he enjoyed an annual ſalary of two hundred pounds, together with an eſtate of about ſixty pounds a year which belonged to the plundered abbey of Weſtminſter. Of theſe revenues, as well as of two thouſand pounds which he had placed in the Exciſe-Office, he was deprived at the [z] Reſtoration.

[x] See the Secret Hiſtory of the Calves-Head Club, 1709, p. 17.

[y] See Kennett's Regiſter, p. 38. See alſo "Private Forms of Prayer, fitted for the late ſad times. Particularly, a Form of Prayer for the thirtieth of January, morning and evening. With Additions, &c. Lond. 1660." 12mo. Dr. Hammond is ſuppoſed to be the author.

[z] In 1791 died Jonathan Hartop, of the village of Aldborough near Borough-bridge in Yorkſhire, at the great age of 138. He is ſaid to have "lent Milton fifty pounds, ſoon after the Reſtoration, which the bard returned him with honour, though not without much difficulty, as his circumſtances were very low. Mr. Hartop would have declined receiving it; but

He had before loſt two thouſand pounds by entruſting it to a ſcrivener; and, in the fire of London, his houſe in Bread-ſtreet was burnt. To Milton, however, the deficiency of wealth was little diſappointment. He had thirſted more after intellectual riches. The paucity of his wants, and the frugal management of what he retained, enabled him to live without diſtreſs. Of the property which he left, the publication of his Nuncupative Will has rectified the miſtaken accounts of all his biographers before Mr. Hayley. If he ſold his library before his death, as ſome have aſſerted, he was perhaps compelled to it by the pillage it had already ſuſtained, and by the fear of its total plunder.

Of his family I ſhall ſubjoin a brief account. All his biographers notice his younger brother, Chriſtopher, and his ſiſter, Anne. Of two other ſiſters the exiſtence has never been related. I have found, however, in the regiſter of All-hallows Bread-ſtreet, the [a] births of Sarah and Tabitha Milton, and

the pride of the poet was equal to his genius, and he ſent the money with an angry letter, which was found among the curious poſſeſſions of that venerable old man." Eaſton's *Human Longevity*, 8vo. Saliſbury, 1799, pp. 241, 242. This curious anecdote of Milton had appeared in the *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordſhire Advertiſer* of March 31, 1790, Mr. Hartop being then living, and the letter deſcribed as extant.

[a] "The xvth daye of July 1612 was baptized SARA, the dawghter of John Mylton, ſcrivener. She was buried the vith of Auguſt following in the church.

"The xxxth of January, 1613, [that is 1613-14,] was baptized TABITHA, the dawghter of Mr. John Mylton.

"The third daye of December 1615 was baptized CHRISTOPHER, the ſonne of John Mylton of this p̃iſhe, ſcrivenor." *Extracts from the Regiſter.*

the death only of Sarah, to be recorded. Chriſtopher was a royaliſt, and became, long after his brother's death, a judge. Through his brother's intereſt, he had compounded for his eſtate, in the rebellion, at the eaſy price of [b] eighty pounds. Anne muſt have been elder than either of her brothers; for her birth is not to be found in the regiſter already mentioned: She was probably the eldeſt child, and born before her father ſettled in Bread-ſtreet. Milton's Verſes on her daughter, written in his ſeventeenth year, ſerve to corroborate this ſuppoſition. She was firſt married to Mr. Phillips, afterwards to Mr. Agar, a friend of her firſt huſband, who ſucceeded him in the Crown-Office of the Court of Chancery. By her firſt huſband ſhe had two ſons, Edward and John, whom Milton educated; by her ſecond, two daughters. His brother, Chriſtopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catherine; and a ſon, Thomas, who ſucceeded Mr. Agar in his office. Of Milton's children, who ſurvived him, Mr. Warton's concluding Note on the Nuncupative Will gives a diſtinct account. The ſeveral branches of his family appear to be now extinct. I may here obſerve that the caſe of Deborah, the youngeſt, which Mr. Warton deplores with true ſenſibility, was [c] firſt noticed in a very feeling manner, in *Miſt's Weekly Journal*, April 29, 1727, and commended her to part of the little patronage which ſhe obtained. While it has been obſerved,

[b] So recorded in the volume of *Compoſitions*, already mentioned, p. 60.

[c] It is alſo printed in the European Magazine for 1787, p. 65.

that the Nuncupative Will of Milton preſents indeed a melancholy picture of domeſtick connections, and that his conduct towards his daughters has been feelingly defended even by an eminent female pen; it has not been noticed, that part of the charge brought againſt him, I mean his teaching his children to read and pronounce Greek and ſeveral other languages *without underſtanding any but Engliſh*, may be thought more ſtrange and unaccountable, inaſmuch as he appears to have been diſtinguiſhed for the eſtimation in which he once held literary women; a circumſtance which no biographer of Milton has hitherto recorded. Doctor Newton, indeed, facetiouſly tells us, that Milton uſed to ſay that one tongue was enough for a woman! But contemporary information will beſt illuſtrate this curious point in the hiſtory of the poet. "[d] We believe," ſays the anſwerer to his Doctrine and Diſcipline of Divorce, "*you count no woman to due converſation acceſſible*, AS TO YOU, *except ſhe can ſpeak Hebrew, Greek, Latine, and French, and diſpute againſt the Canon law as well as you, or at leaſt be able to hold diſcourſe with you.* But other gentlemen of good qualitie are content with meaner and fewer endowments, as you know well enough."—I now recur to the defence of Milton by the diſtinguiſhed lady, who ſpeaking of the *modern revolutionary ſpirit* in families, and elegantly enforcing the ſubordination of domeſtick manners, obſerves "that, [e] among the faults with which

[d] Anſwer to the Doct. and Diſc. of Divorce, 4°. 1644. p. 16.

[e] Strictures on the Modern Syſtem of Female Education, by Mrs. Hannah More, vol. i. p. 147, 6th edit. 1799.

it has been too much the faſhion of recent times to load the memory of the incomparable Milton, one of the charges brought againſt his private character (for with his political character we have here nothing to do) has been, that he was ſo ſevere a father as to have compelled his daughters, after he was blind, to read aloud to him, for his ſole pleaſure, Greek and Latin authors of which they did not underſtand a word. But this is in fact nothing more than an inſtance of the ſtrict domeſtick regulations of the age in which Milton lived; and ſhould not be brought forward as a proof of the ſeverity of his individual temper. Nor indeed in any caſe ſhould it ever be conſidered as an hardſhip for an affectionate child to amuſe an afflicted parent, even though it ſhould be attended with a heavier ſacrifice of her own pleaſure than in the preſent inſtance."

From Milton's laſt wife, (whoſe good name alſo has been [f] calumniated,) the early admirers of the poet learned that he uſed to compoſe his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning dictated to her ſometimes twenty or thirty verſes; that Spenſer, Shakſpeare, and Cowley, were his favourite Engliſh poets; and that he pronounced Dryden to be a rhymiſt rather than a poet. Dryden's beſt poems had not yet appeared. To Dryden, who often viſited him, Milton acknowledged that Spenſer was his original.

From Aubrey's manuſcript it appears that Milton's "familiar learned acquaintance" were Andrew Marvell, Cyriack Skinner, and Dr. Paget. I have

[f] See Mr. Warton's notes, f and r, on the Nuncupative Will.

often wondered that Milton, who has affectionately recorded the good qualities of many friends, ſhould have omitted to grace his pages with a tribute of reſpect to the name of Henry More, the celebrated Platoniſt, his fellow-collegian; by whom Mr. Warton ſuppoſes him to have been led to the ſtudy of the *divine philoſophy*, and of whoſe poetry I am perſuaded, he was an [g] attentive reader.

I muſt not cloſe this humble account of the great poet, without venturing to obſerve, that Dr. Johnſon, in ridiculing the notion that a writer ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf influenced by times or ſeaſons, has not only too haſtily decided on the intellectual impulſes of Milton, but has alſo [h] contradicted himſelf.

Nor can I here forbear to deplore the unwarranted aſperity, with which the laſt biographer of Milton would conſign to oblivion and contempt the critical labours of Milton's beſt commentator. "[i] For borrowing two or three expreſſions from *Il Penſeroſo* and the *Comus*," ſays Dr. Symmons, "Mr. Warton could thus ſpeak of Pope: 'Pope was a gleaner of the old Engliſh poets; and he was here *pilfering* from *obſolete* Engliſh poetry without the leaſt fear or danger of being detected.' A few years, however, will ſweep this acute and candid detector of plagiariſm to oblivion; and will leave the laurel of Eloiſa's poet without the veſtige of a ſtain." It is

[g] See the note on *Comus*, ver. 429.

[h] "He [Johnſon] here admits an opinion of the human mind being influenced by ſeaſons, which he ridicules in his writings." Boſwell's *Life of Dr. Johnſon*, 3d. edit. vol. ii. p. 264.

[i] Life of Milton, 1806, p. 543.

not my intention, in defending Mr. Warton, to inſinuate that any "ſtain ſhould be fixed on the laurel of Eloiſa's poet;" nor is it my province here to illuſtrate the beautiful application of his borrowings; but I will not heſitate to aſſure the learned biographer and the world, that the obligations of Pope to our elder poetry, and eſpecially to the poetry of Milton, are more numerous than have hitherto been noticed.

THE

NUNCUPATIVE WILL*

OF

JOHN MILTON[a].

WITH NOTES,

BY THE REVEREND T. WARTON, B.D.

MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parifh of St. Giles Cripplegate in the Countie of Middlefex Gentleman, deceaſed, at ſeverall times before his death, and in particular, on or about the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord God 1674, being of perfect mind and memorie, declared his Will and intent as to the diſpoſall of his eſtate after his death, in theſe words following, or of like effect: "The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they ſhall have no other benefit of my eſtate than the ſaid portion, and what I have beſides done for them; they having been very undutifull to me. All the reſidue of my eſtate I leave to [the] diſpoſall of Elizabeth my loving wife." Which

* [From Mr. Warton's 2d edit. of Milton's Smaller Poems, 1791.]

[a] As propounded in the Prerogative Court.

words, or to the ſame effect, were ſpoken in the preſence of CHRISTOPHER MILTON [b].

X [Mark of] ELIZABETH FISHER. [c]

Nov. 23, 1674 [d].

I.

The Allegation propounding the Will, on which Allegation the Witneſſes be examined [e].

Negotium Teſtamentarium, ſive probacionis Teſtamenti nuncupativi, ſive ultimæ Voluntatis, JOHAN-

[b] JOHN MILTON's younger brother: a ſtrong royaliſt, and a profeſſed papiſt. After the civil war, he made his compoſition through his brother's intereſt. Being a practitioner in the law, he lived to be an ancient Bencher of the Inner Temple: was made a judge of the Common Pleas, and knighted by king James the ſecond; but, on account of his age and infirmities, he was at length diſmiſſed from buſineſs, and retired to Ipſwich, where he reſided all the latter part of his life.

[c] A ſervant-maid of JOHN MILTON.

[d] Regiſtr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. This Will was conteſted by Mary, Deborah, and Anne Milton, daughters of the poet's firſt wife Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard Powel, of Foreſthill in Oxfordſhire. The cauſe came to a regular ſentence, which was given againſt the Will; and the Widow, Elizabeth, was ordered to take Adminiſtration inſtead of a Probate. I muſt add here, that this cauſe, the ſubject of which needed no additional luſtre from great names, was tried by that upright and able ſtateſman, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Prerogative Court, and Secretary of State; and that the depoſitions were taken in part before Dr. Trumbull, afterwards Sir William Trumbull, Secretary of State, and the celebrated friend of Pope. As a circumſtantial and authentick hiſtory of this proceſs, the following inſtruments, which were otherwiſe thought too curious to be ſuppreſſed, are ſubjoined.

[e] Viz. Chriſtopher MILTON, and JOHN MILTON's two ſervant-maids Elizabeth and Mary Fiſher. Witneſſes on the part of the widow.

NIS MILTON, nuper dum vixit parochiæ S. Ægidii *Cripplegate* London generoſi, defuncti, habent, &c. promotum per Elizabetham MILTON [f] Relictam, et Legatariam principalem nominatam in Teſtamento nuncupativo, ſive ultima Voluntate, dicti defuncti, contra Mariam, Annam, et Deboram MILTON, filias dicti defuncti.

THOMPSON. CLEMENTS.

[f] This was his third wife, Elizabeth Minſhull, of a gentleman's family in Cheſhire. He married her at the recommendation of his friend, and her relation, Dr. Paget, about the year 1661, and in his fifty-fourth year, ſoon after he had obtained his pardon from the reſtored king; being now blind and infirm, and wanting ſome more conſtant and confidential companion than a ſervant to attend upon his perſon. The elder Richardſon inſinuates, that this lady, being no poet or philoſopher like her huſband, uſed frequently to teaze him for his careleſſneſs or ignorance about money-matters, and that ſhe was a *termagant*. He adds, that ſoon after their marriage, a royal offer was made to Milton of the reſumption of his old department of Latin Secretary, and that, being ſtrongly preſſed by his wife to an acceptance, he ſcornfully replied, "Thou art in the right; you, as other women, *would ride in your Coach*. My aim is to live and die an *honeſt man*." LIFE, &c. p. xcix. ſeq. edit. 1734. From theſe papers, however, it appears, that ſhe conſulted her huſbands humours, and treated his infirmities with tenderneſs. After his death in 1674, ſhe retired to Namptwich in Cheſhire, where ſhe died about 1729. Mr. Pennant ſays, her father, Mr. Minſhull, lived at Stoke in that neighbourhood. W. Tour, and Gough's *Camden*, Cheſhire, p. 436. The third edition of Paradiſe Loſt was publiſhed in 1678: and this is the poet's widow, to whom the copy of that work was then to devolve by original agreement, but who ſold all her claims to Samuel Simmons, his bookſeller, for eight pounds, according to her receipt given Decemb. 21, 1680.

[Among the letters of Mr. G. Grey to his brother Dr. Zach. Grey, is the following notice of this lady's death, which has

Secundo Andreæ, A. D. 1674. Quo die.... Thompſon, nomine, procuratione, ac ultimus procurator legitimus, dictæ Elizabethæ MILTON, omnibus melioribus et effectualioribus [efficacioribus] via, modo, et meliori forma, necnon ad omnem juris effectum, exhibuit Teſtamentum nuncupativum dicti JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, ſic incipiens, "MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the pariſh of S. Giles, Cripplegate. &c." Which words, or words to the ſame effect, were ſpoken in the preſence of Chriſtopher MILTON, and Elizabeth Fiſher; et allegavit conſimiliter, et dicens prout ſequitur. I. Quod præfatus JOHANNES MILTON, dum vixit, mentis compos, ac in ſua ſana memoria exiſtens,.... Teſtamentum ſuum nuncupativum modo in hoc negotio exhibitum.... tenoris ſchedulæ.... teſtamentariæ condidit, nuncupavit, et declaravit; cæteraque omnia et ſingula dedit, donavit, reliquit, et diſpoſuit, in omnibus, et per omnia, vel ſimiliter in effectum, prout in dicto Teſtamento nuncupativo continetur, ac poſtea mortem obiit: ac Principalis Pars iſta proponit conjunctim, diviſim, et de quolibet. II. Item, quod tempore conditionis, declarationis, nuncupationis Teſtamenti, in hoc negotio exhibiti, præfatus JOHANNES MILTON perfecta fruebatur memoria; ac proponit ut ſupra[g].

been obligingly communicated to me by J. Nichols, Eſq. from the original in his poſſeſſion: There were three widow Miltons there, (*at Nantwich*) viz. the poet's widow, my aunt, and another. The poet's widow died laſt ſummer." Dated July 30. 1731. TODD.]

[g] Regiſtr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut ſupr.

II.

Interrogatories addreſſed to the Witneſſes examined upon the Allegation.

Decemb. 5, 1674. Interrogatoria miniſtrata et miniſtranda ex parte Annæ, Mariæ, et Deboræ MILTON, teſtibus ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON productis ſive producendis ſequuntur.

Imprimis, Aſke each witneſſe, what relation to, or dependance on, the producent, they, or either of them, have; and to which of the parties they would give the victory were it in their power? Et interrogatur quilibet teſtis conjunctim, et diviſim, et de quolibet.

2. *Item*, Aſke each witneſſe, what day, and what time of the day, the Will nuncupative was declared; what poſitive words did the deceaſed uſe in the declaring thereof? Can you poſitively ſwear, that the deceaſed did declare that hee did leave the reſidue of his eſtate to the diſpoſall of his wife, or did hee not not ſay, "I will leave the reſidue of my eſtate to my wife? *Et ſiat ut ſupra.*

3. *Item*, Upon what occaſion did the deceaſed declare the ſaid Will? Was not the deceaſed in perfect health at the ſame time? Doe you not think, that the deceaſed, if he declared any ſuch Will, declared it in a preſent paſſion, or ſome angry humour againſt ſome or one of his children by his former [firſt] wife? *Et ſiat ut ſupra.*

4. *Item*, Aſke each witneſſe, whether the parties miniſtrant were not and are not greate frequenters of the Church, [h] and good livers; and what cauſe

[h] Here ſeems to be an inſinuation, that our poet's's diſpleaſure againſt theſe three daughters, aroſe partly from their adherence

of diſpleaſure had the deceaſed againſt them? *Et fiat ut ſupra.*

5. *Item*, Aſke Mr. [Chriſtopher] MILTON, and each other witneſſe, whether the deceaſed's Will, if any ſuch was made, was not, that the deceaſed's wife ſhould have £.1000, and the children of the ſaid Chriſtopher MILTON the reſidue; and whether ſhe hath not promiſed him that they ſhould have it, if ſhee prevailed in this Cauſe? Whether the ſaid Mr. MILTON hath not ſince the deceaſed's death confeſſed ſoe much, or ſome part thereof? *Et fiat ut ſupra.*

6. *Item*, Aſke each witneſſe, whether what is left to the miniſtrants by the ſaid Will is not reputed a very bad or altogether deſperate debt[i]? *Et fiat ut ſupra.*

to thoſe principles; which, in preference to his own, they had received, or rather inherited, from their mother's family, who were noted and active royaliſts. Afterwards, the deſcription *good livers* is not to be underſtood in its general and proper ſenſe, which could not have offended Milton; but as ariſing from what went before, and meaning much the ſame thing, that is, *regular in their attendance on the eſtabliſhed worſhip.*

[i] That is, the marriage portion, promiſed, but never paid, to JOHN MILTON, by Mr. Richard Powell, the father of his firſt wife; and which the ſaid JOHN bequeathed to the daughters of that match, the miniſtrants, Anne, Mary, and Deborah. They were married in 1643. I have now before me an original "Inventorie of the goods of Mr. Richard Powell of Forreſthill, in the county of Oxon, taken the 10th of June, A. D. 1646." This ſeems to have been taken in conſequence of a ſeizure of Mr. Powell's Houſe by the rebels. His diſtreſſes in the royal cauſe probably prevented the payment of his daughter's marriage portion. By the number, order, and furniture of the rooms, he appears to have lived as a country gentleman, in a very extenſive and liberal ſtyle of houſe-keeping. This I mention to confirm

7. Aſke the ſaid Mr. MILTON, whether he did not gett the ſaid Will drawn upp, and inform the writer to what effect he ſhould draw it? And did he not enquire of the other witneſſes, what they would or could depoſe? And whether he hath not ſolicited this Cauſe, and pay'd fees to the Proctour about it? *Et ſiat ut ſupra.*

8. *Item*, Aſke each witneſſe, what fortune the deceaſed did in his life-time beſtowe on the miniſtrants? And whether the ſaid *Anne* MILTON is not lame, and almoſt helpleſſe? [k] *Et ſiat ut ſupra.*

9. *Item*, Aſke each witneſſe, what value is the deceaſed's eſtate of, as neare as they can gueſs? *Et ſiat ut ſupra*[l].

II.

Depoſitions and croſs-examinations of the ſaid witneſſes.

Elizabetha MILTON, Relicta et Legataria principalis JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, contra Annam, Mariam, et Deboram MILTON, filias ejuſdem de-

what is ſaid by Phillips, that Mr. Powell's daughter abruptly left her huſband within a month after their marriage, diſguſted with his ſpare diet and hard ſtudy, " after having been uſed at home to a great houſe, and much company and joviality, &c." I have alſo ſeen in Mr. Powell's houſe at Foreſthill many papers, which ſhow the active part he took in favour of the Royaliſts: With ſome others relating to the Rangerſhip of the Shotover foreſt, bearing his ſignature.

[k] She was deformed, and had an impediment in her ſpeech. His grand-daughter Elizabeth Foſter by the third daughter Deborah, often ſpoke of his harſhneſs to his daughters, and that he refuſed to have them taught to write.

[l] Regiſtr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut ſupr.

functi. Super Allegatione articulata et Teſtamento nuncupativo JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON predictæ, in hoc negotio, ſecundo Andreæ, 1674, dato [m] et exhibitis.

Quinto Decembris 1674. Chriſtopherus MILTON villæ Gipwici in com. Suffolciæ ortus infra parochiam Omnium Sanctorum *Bredſtreete*, London, ætat. 58 annor. aut eo circiter, teſtis, &c. Ad omnes articulos dictæ Allegationis, et ad Teſtamentum nuncupativum JOHANNIS MILTON, generoſi, defuncti, in hoc negotio dat. et exhibit. deponit et dicit, That on, or about the twentieth day of July, 1674, the day certaine he now remembreth not, this deponent being a practicer in the Law, and a Bencher in the Inner Temple, but living in vacations at Ipſwich, did uſually at the end of the Terme viſit JOHN MILTON, his this deponent's brother the Teſtator articulate, deceaſed, before his going home; and ſoe at the end of Midſummer Terme laſt paſt, he this deponent went to viſit his ſaid brother, and then found him in his chamber within his owne houſe, ſcituate on Bunhill [n] within the

[m] Sic, ut et infra, pro *Milton*.

[n] Sometimes called the *Artillery-walk*, leading to Bunhill fields. This was his laſt ſettled place of abode, and where he lived longeſt. Richardſon calls this houſe a "ſmall houſe, where he died about fourteen years after he was out of publick employ." Ubi ſupr. p. xciii. It was here that he wrote or finiſhed *Paradiſe Loſt*, *Paradiſe Regained*, and *Samſon Agoniſtes*. But in 1665, when the plague broke out in London, he retired to Chalfont Saint Giles, where his friend Elwood, a quaker, had taken a houſe for him; and the next year, when the danger was over, he came back to Bunhill-fields. The houſe at Chalfont, in which he reſided in this ſhort ſpace of time, and where he planned or began *Paradiſe Regained*, is ſtill ſtanding, ſmall, but

parifh of S. Giles, Crepelgate, London: And at that tyme, he the faid Teftator, being not well, (and this deponent being then going into the country,) in a ferious manner, with an intent, (as he believes,) that what he then fpoke fhould be his WILL, if he dyed before his this deponent's coming the next time to London, declared his Will in thefe very words as neare as this deponent cann now call to mynd. Viz. "Brother, the porcion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former [firft] wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her: but I have receaved noe part of it, and my Will and meaning is, they fhall have noe other benefit of my eftate, than the faid porcion and what I have befides don for them: they haveing been very undutifull to me. And all the refidue of my eftate I leave to the difpofall of Elizabeth my loveing wife." She, the faid Elizabeth his the deceafed's wife, and Elizabeth Fyther his the deceafed's then maide-fervant, was [at the] fame tyme goeing upp and downe the roome, but whether fhe then heard the faid deceafed, fo declare his will as above or not, he knoweth not.

pleafantly fituated. See Ellwood's Life of Himfelf, p. 246. Who calls it "a pretty box."

[Mr. Dunfter, in the additions to his edition of *Paradife Regained*, remarks that the houfe is not pleafantly fituated. "The adjacent country is indeed extremely pleafant; but the immediate fpot is as little picturefque or pleafing as can be well imagined. Immediately in front of the houfe, a grafs field rifes fo abruptly as completely to exclude all profpect: and the common road of the village paffes by the gable end, adjoining to which is the end of a fmall dwelling, which runs behind that inhabited by Milton." TODD.]

And the ſaid teſtator at the premiſes was of perfect mind and memory and talked and diſcourſed ſenſibly and well, *et aliter neſcit deponere.*

CHR. MILTON.

AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad 1^m^. Interr. *reſpondet*, that the party producent in this cauſe was and is the relict of the ſaid deceaſed, who was his this reſpondent's brother; and the parties miniſtring theſe interrogatories were and are in repute, and ſoe he beleeveth his the ſaid deceaſed's children by a former wife: and for his part, he wiſheth right to take place, and ſoe would give it if in his power; and likewiſe wiſheth that his brother's Will might take effect.

Ad 2^m^. Interr. *reſpondet*, that on what day of the moneth or weeke the ſaid deceaſed declared his Will, as is above depoſed, he now remembreth not preciſely; but well remembreth, that it was in a forenoone, and on the very day he this deponent was goeing in the country in [the] Ipſwich coach, which goeth not out of towne till noone or thereabout: and he veryly beleeveth in his conſcience, that the reſidue of his eſtate he did then diſpoſe of in theſe very words, viz. "And all the reſidue of my eſtate I leave to the diſpoſall of Elizabeth my loving wife;" or he uſed words to the ſelfe ſame effect, *et aliter referendo ſe ad pre-depoſ. neſcit reſpondere.*

Ad 3^m^. Interr. *reſpondet*, that the ſaid deceaſed was then ill of the goute, and what he then ſpake touching his Will was in a very calme manner; only [he] complained, but without paſſion, that his children had

been unkind to him, but that his wife had been very kind and careful of him; and he believeth the only reaſon induced the ſaid deceaſed at that time to declare his Will was, that he this deponent might know it before his goeing into the country, *et aliter referendo ſe ad pre-depoſita neſcit reſpondere.*

Ad 4^{m}. Interr. *reſpondet*, that he knoweth not how the parties miniſtring theſe interrogatories frequent the church, or in what manner of behaviour of life and converſacion they are of, they living apart from their father four or five yeares laſt paſt, and as touching his the deceaſed's diſpleaſure with them, he only heard him ſay at the tyme of declareing of his Will, that they were undutifull and unkind to him, not expreſſing any particulars; but in former tymes he hath herd him complaine, that they were careleſs of him being blind, and made nothing of deſerteing him, *et aliter neſcit reſpondere.*

Ad 5^{m}. Interr. *reſpondet*, that ſince this reſpondent's comeing to London this Michaelmas Terme laſt paſte, this reſpondent's ſiſter, the party now producent in this cauſe, told this reſpondent, that the deceaſed his brother did after his this reſpondent's goeing into the country in Trinity vacacion laſt ſummer [ſay,] that, if ſhe ſhould have any overplus above a 1000*l.* come to her hands of his the deceaſed's eſtate, ſhe ſhould give the ſame to this reſpondent's children: but the deceaſed himſelfe did not declare any ſuch thing to this reſpondent at the tyme of his declaring his Will, the tyme above depoſed of.

Ad 6^{m}. Interr. *reſpondet*, that he beleeveth that what is left to the parties miniſtring theſe interrogatories by the ſaid deceaſed's Will, is in the hands of

perſons of ability abell to pay the ſame, being their grandmother and uncle; and he hath ſeen the grandfather's Will, wherein 'tis particularly directed to be paid unto them by his executors, *et aliter neſcit reſpondere.*

Ad 7^m^. Interr. *reſpondet*, that he this reſpondent did draw upp the very Will executed in this cauſe, and write it with his owne hand, when he came to this court, about the 23d. of November laſt paſt, and at that tyme this reſpondent did read the ſame all over to Elizabeth Fiſher, the ſaid deceaſed's late maid ſervant, and ſhe ſaid ſhe remembered the ſame, and in confirmation whereof ſet her marke thereto in manner as on the ſame Will executed in this cauſe is now to be ſeen. And this reſpondent waited on the ſaid deceaſed's widdow once at Doctor Exton's chambers about this ſuite, at which tyme ſhe wanted ſome halfe crownes, and this reſpondent lent her then two halfe crownes, but more he hath at noe tyme paid either to Doctor or Proctor in this cauſe.

Ad 8^m^. Interr. *reſpondet*, that he knoweth of noe fortune given by the ſaid deceaſed to the parties miniſtring theſe interrogatories, beſides the portion which he was promiſed with his former wife in marriage, being a 1000l. which is ſtill unpaid beſides the intereſt thereof for about twenty yeares, ſaveing his charges in their maintenance and breeding, *et aliter neſcit reſpondere*, ſaveing that Anne Milton interr. is lame and helples.

Ad ult. reddit cauſas ſcientiæ ſuæ ut ſupra.

Die prid.

Repetit. cor. Doctore Lloyd Surrog. CHR. MILTON.

Milton con. Thompſon. Milton et Milton Clements. } Sup. All^nis. artic. et Teſtamento nuncupativo Johan. Milton defuncti ex parte Elizabethæ Milton in hujuſmodi Cauſa dat. et admiſſ. examinat.

15°. Dec. 1674.

Maria Fiſher ſoluta famul. domeſtica Johan. Batten habitan. in vico vocat. Bricklane in Old Streete ubi moram fecit per Spacium ſex hebdomadarum aut eo circiter, antea cum Benjamino Whitcomb Mercatore habitan. in vico vocat. Coleman Streete London per Spacium 3m. Menſium, antea cum Guiddon Culcap infra locum vocat. Smock Alley prope Spittlefields per Spacium unius anni, aut eo circiter, antea cum Johanne Bayley infra Oppidum Milton in Com. Stafford per Spacium duorum annorum, antea cum Johanne Baddily infra parochiam de Milton præd. per Spacium trium annorum, et antea cum quodam Rogers Hargrave infra parochiam de Milton præd. per Spacium duorum annorum aut eo circiter, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. Stafford præd. ætatis 23 aut eo circiter, teſtis, &c.

Ad omnes articulos dictæ All^nis. et ad teſtamentum nuncupativum Johan Milton teſtatoris in hac cauſa defuncti in hujuſmodi neg°. dat. et exhibit. *deponit* et *dicit*, that this deponent knew and was well ac-

quainted with the articulate John Milton the teſtator in this cauſe deceaſed, for about a twelve moneth before his death, who dyed about a moneth ſince to the beſt of this deponent's remembrance; And ſaith, that on a day hapning about two moneths ſince, as neare as this deponent can remember, this deponent being then in the kitchen of the houſe of the foreſaid John Milton ſcituate againſt the Artillery Ground neare Bunhill Fields, and about noone of the ſame day, the ſaid deceaſed and the producent Elizabeth his wife being then at dinner in the ſaid kitchen, hee the ſaid deceaſed amongſt other diſcourſe then had betweene him and his ſaid wife, did then ſpeake to his ſaid wife and utter theſe words, viz. "Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knoweſt I have given thee all when I dye at thy diſpoſal;" there being then preſent in the ſaid kitchen this deponent's ſiſter and *conteſt* ° namely Elizabeth Fyſher. And the ſaid deceaſed was at that time of perfect mind and memory, and talked and diſcourſed ſenſibly and well, and was very merry, and ſeemed to be in good health of body, *et aliter neſcit.*

Signum

Mariæ Fisher.

Ad Interrogatoria.

Ad primum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent hath noe relation or dependance on the producent Elizabeth Milton, that it is indifferent to this reſpon-

° i. e. Fellow-witneſs, Con-Teſtis.

dent which of the parties in this ſuite obtaine, and would give the victory in this cauſe if in her power to that party that hath moſt right; but which party hath moſt right thereto this reſpondent knoweth not, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad ſecundum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent doth not remember the day when the deceaſed declared the words by her pre-depoſed, but remembreth that it was about noone of ſuch day that the words which hee then declared were theſe, viz. " Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knoweſt I have given thee all when I dye at thy diſpoſall;" then ſpeaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton the party producent in this cauſe, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad tertium Interr. *reſpondet*, that the deceaſed, when hee declared the words pre-depoſed, was then at dinner with his wife the party producent and was then very merry, and ſeemed to be in good health of body; but upon what occaſion hee ſpoke the ſaid words ſhee knoweth not, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad quartum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent knoweth neither of the parties miniſtrant in this cauſe ſaving this reſpondent once ſaw Anne Milton one of the miniſtrants, *et neſcit reſpondere per parte ſua.*

Ad quintum Interr. neſcit reſpondere.

Ad ſextum Interr. neſcit reſpondere.

Ad ſeptimum Interr. non concernit eam, et neſcit reſpondere.

Ad octavum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent once ſaw the Interr. Anne Milton but doth not remember whether ſhee was lame or helpleſſe, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad 9^{m}· Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent knoweth nothing of the deceaſed's eſtate or the value thereof, *et aliter neſcit*.

Eodem Die — Signum

Repetit coram Doctore — Mariæ Fisher

Digby Surro. &c. p̃te

Tho Welham, N. P.

Eodem Die

Elizabetha Fiſher famula Domeſtica Elizabethæ Milton p̄tis producentis in hac cauſa cum qua et Johanne Milton ejus Marito defuncto vixit per Spacium 13 Menſium, antea cum quodam Thoma Adams apud Bagnall in Com. Stafford per Spacium trium annorum et ſex Menſium, antea cum W^{mo}· Bourne Gen. infra parochiam de Woolſtilſtan in Com. Stafford præd. per Spacium duorum annorum, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. præd. ætatis 28 annorum aut eo circiter, teſtis, &c.

Ad omnes articulos dictæ All^{nis}· et ad teſtamentum nuncupativum Johan. Milton teſtatoris in hac cauſa defuncti in hujuſmodi negotio dat. exhibit et admiſſ. *deponit* et *dicit*, that this deponent was ſervant unto Mr. John Milton the teſtator in this cauſe deceaſed for about a yeare before his death, who died upon a Sunday the * fifteenth of November laſt at night,

* [She appears to have been miſtaken, a ſingle week, in her depoſition. See the Life, p. 125, 126. Todd.]

And ſaith that on a day hapning in the month of July laſt, the time more certainly ſhe remembereth not, this deponent being then in the deceaſed's lodging chamber, hee the ſaid deceaſed, and the party producent in this cauſe his wife, being then alſoe in the ſaid chamber at dinner together, and the ſaid Elizabeth Milton the party producent having provided ſomething for the deceaſed's dinner which hee very well liked, [p] hee the ſaid deceaſed then ſpoke to his ſaid wife theſe or the like words as neare as this deponent can remember, viz. " God have mercy Betty, I ſee thou wilt performe according to thy promiſe in providing mee ſuch diſhes as I think fitt whilſt I live, and when I dye thou knoweſt that I have left thee all," there being noebody preſent in the ſaid chamber with the ſaid deceaſed and his wife but this deponent: And the ſaid teſtator at that time was of perfect mind and memory, and talked and diſcourſed ſenſibly and well, but was then indiſpoſed in his body by reaſon of the diſtemper of the gout, which hee had then upon him. Further this deponent ſaith, that ſhee hath ſevrall times heard the ſaid deceaſed, ſince the time above depoſed of, declare and ſay, that hee had made proviſion for his children in his life-time, and had ſpent the greateſt part of his eſtate in providing for them, and that hee was reſolved hee would doe noe more for them living or dyeing, for that little part which hee had left hee had given to his wife the articulate Elizabeth the producent, or he uſed words to that effect. And likewiſe told this deponent, that

[p] His grand-daughter Elizabeth Foſter, by his third daughter Deborah, uſed to ſay, that he was delicate, but temperate in his diet.

there was a thouſand pounds left in Mr. Powell's hands to be diſpoſed amongſt his children hereafter. By all which words this reſpondent verily beleeveth that the ſaid teſtator had given all his eſtate to the articulate Elizabeth his wife, and that ſhee ſhould have the ſame after his deceaſe, *et aliter neſcit reſpondere*, ſaving that the ſaid deceaſed was at the ſeveral times of declaring the words laſt pre-depoſed alſoe of perfect mind and memory.

Signum

ELIZAB. FISHER.

AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad primum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent was ſervant to the deceaſed in his life time and is now ſervant to the producent and therefore hath a dependency upon her as her ſervant, that if the victory were in this reſpondent's power ſhee would give the deceaſed's eſtate equally to be ſhared betweene the miniſtrants and the producent, *et aliter neſcit*.

Ad ſecundum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent doth not remember on what day the deceaſed declared the words firſt by her afore depoſed, but it was about noone of ſuch day when he was at dinner that the preciſe words as neare as this reſpondent can remember which the deceaſed uſed at that time were theſe, viz. "God have mercy Betty (ſpeaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton for ſoe hee uſually called her) I ſee thou wilt performe according to thy promiſe in providing mee ſuch diſhes as I think fitt

whilſt I live, and when I dye thou knoweſt that I have left thee all," *et aliter neſcit*; ſaving that this reſpondent well remembreth that the deceaſed declared the words laſt by her depoſed to the articles of the allegation to this reſpondent once on a Sunday in the afternoone, but on what day of the month or in what month the ſaid Sunday then happened this reſpondent doth not remember.

Ad tertium Interr. *reſpondet*, that the occaſion of the deceaſed's ſpeaking of the words depoſed by this reſpondent in her anſwer to the next precedent interrogatory was upon the producent's provideing the deceaſed ſuch victuals for his dinner as hee liked, and that he was then indifferent well in health, ſaving that ſome time he was troubled with the paine of the gout, and that hee was at that time very merry and not in any paſſion or angry humour, neither at that time ſpoke any thing againſt any of his children that this reſpondent heard of, *et aliter neſcit*.

Ad quartum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent hath heard the deceaſed declare his diſpleaſure againſt the parties miniſtrant his children, and particularly the deceaſed declared to this reſpondent that, a little before hee was marryed to Elizabeth Milton his now relict, a former maid ſervant of his told Mary one of the deceaſed's daughters and one of the miniſtrants, that ſhee heard the deceaſed was to be marryed, to which the ſaid Mary replyed to the ſaid maid ſervant, that that was noe news to heare of his wedding, but if ſhee could heare of his death that was ſomething: and further told this reſpondent, that all his ſaid children did combine together and counſel his maid ſervant to cheat him the deceaſed in her markettings,

and that his ſaid children had made away ſome of his bookes and would have ſold the reſt of his bookes to the dunghill women; or hee the ſaid deceaſed ſpoke words to this reſpondent to the ſelfe ſame effect and purpoſe: that this reſpondent knoweth not what frequenters of the church, or what good livers, the parties miniſtrant or either of them are, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad quintum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent doth not know that the deceaſed's wife was to have 1000*l.* and the interrogative children of Chriſtopher Milton the reſidue, nor doth this reſpondent know that the ſaid Elizabeth, the deceaſed's wife, hath promiſed the interrogative Chriſtopher Milton or his children any ſuch thing in caſe ſhee ſhould prevaile in this cauſe; that the ſaid Mrs. Milton never confeſſed ſoe much in this reſpondent's hearing, or to any body elſe that this reſpondent knoweth of, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad ſextum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent believeth that what is left the deceaſed's children in the Will nuncupative in this cauſe executed and mencioned therein to be due from Mr. Powell, is a good debt; for that the ſaid Mr. Powell is reputed a rich man, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad ſeptimum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent did voluntarily tell the interrogative Mrs. Milton, what ſhee heard the deceaſed ſay which was to the effect by her pre-depoſed, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad octavum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent knoweth not what the deceaſed did in his life time beſtow on the miniſtrants his children, and that the interrogative Anne Milton is lame, but hath a trade

and can live by the ſame, which is the making of gold and ſilver lace and which the deceaſed bred her up to, *et aliter neſcit.*

Ad nonum Interr. *reſpondet*, that this reſpondent knoweth not the deceaſed's eſtate, or the value thereof, *et aliter neſcit.*

Eodem Die
Repetit coram Doctore
Trumbull Surro. &c.
Tho. Welham, N. P[q].

Signum
ELIZABETHÆ FISHER.

JAMES TOWNLEY,
GEORGE GOSLING,
ROBERT DODWELL,
} DEPUTY REGISTERS.

[q] Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut ſupra.

IV.

Grant of Letters of Adminiſtration to the widow Elizabeth[r].

Die 25to Februarii $167\frac{4}{5}$.

JOHANNES MILTON. Viceſimo quinto Die Februarii emanavit Commiſſio Elizabethæ Milton Relictæ Johannis Milton nuper Parochiæ Sancti Egidii Cripplegate in Com. Mid. Defuncti hēntis, &c. ad Adminiſtrand. bona. jura, et credita dicti defuncti, de bene &c. jurat, Teſtamento Nuncupativo dict. defuncti: aliter per antedictam Elizabetham Milton Allegato, nondum Probato. — ult. Julii. — ult. Dec.

GEORGE GOSTLING,
JAMES TOWNLEY,
ROBERT DODWELL,
} Deputy Registers.

[r] The reader will compare theſe evidences with the printed accounts of Milton's biographers on this ſubject; who ſay, that he ſold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, which his widow Elizabeth ſeized, and only gave one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Of this widow, Phillips relates, rather rathly, that ſhe perſecuted his children in his life time, and *cheated* them at his death.

Milton had children, who ſurvived him, only by his firſt wife, the three daughters ſo after named. Of theſe, Anne, the firſt, de-

formed in ſtature, but with a handſome face, married a maſter builder, and died of her firſt childbirth, with the infant. Mary, the ſecond, died ſingle. Deborah, the third, and the greateſt favourite of the three, went over to Ireland as companion to a lady in her father's life-time; and afterwards married Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spital-fields, and died, aged ſeventy-ſix in Auguſt 1727. This is the daughter that uſed to read to her father; and was well known to Richardſon, and Proteſſor Ward: a woman of a very cultivated underſtanding, and not inelegant of manners. She was generouſly patroniſed by Addiſon; and by queen Caroline, who ſent her a preſent of fifty guineas. She had ſeven ſons and three daughters, of whom only Caleb and Elizabeth are remembered. Caleb migrated to Fort Saint George, where perhaps he died. Elizabeth, the youngeſt daughter, married Thomas Foſter a weaver in Spittle-fields, and had ſeven children, who all died. She is ſaid to have been a plain ſenſible woman; and kept a petty grocer's or chandler's ſhop, firſt at lower Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane near Shoreditch church. In April, 1750, *Comus* was acted for her benefit: Doctor Johnſon, who wrote the Prologue, ſays, "ſhe had ſo little acquaintance with diverſion or gaiety, that ſhe did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her." The profits of the performance were only one hundred and thirty pounds *; although Doctor Newton contributed largely, and twenty pounds were given by Jacob Tonſon the bookſeller. On this trifling augmentation to their ſmall ſtock, ſhe and her huſband removed to Iſlington, where they both ſoon died. So much greater is our taſte, our charity, and general national liberality, at the diſtance of forty years, that I will venture to pronounce, that, in the preſent day, a benefit at one of our theatres for the relief of a poor and an infirm grand-daughter of the author of *Comus* and *Paradiſe Loſt*, would have been much more amply and worthily ſupported.

These ſeem to have been the grounds, upon which Milton's Nuncupative Will was pronounced invalid. Firſt, there was wanting what the Civil Law terms a *rogatio teſtium*, or a ſolemn bidding of the perſons preſent, to take notice that the words he was going to deliver were to be his Will. The Civil Law re-

[* From the information of my friend, Iſaac Reed, Eſq., I am enabled to add, to Mr. Warton's account, that the Receipts of the Houſe were 147l. 14s. 6d, from which the Expences deducted were 80l. Todd.]

quires this form, to make men's verbal declarations operate as Wills; otherwiſe, they are preſumed to be words of common calling or looſe converſation. And the Statute of the twenty-ninth of Charles the Second [c. iii.] has adopted this Rule; as may be ſeen in the 19th clauſe of that Statute, uſually called the *Statute of Frauds*, which paſſed in the year 1676, two years after Milton's death. Secondly, the words, here atteſted by the three witneſſes, are not words delivered at the ſame time; but one witneſs ſpeaks to one declaration made at one time, and another to another declaration made at another time. And although the declarations are of ſimilar import, this circumſtance will not ſatisfy the demands of the Law; which requires, that the three witneſſes who are to ſupport a Nuncupative Will, muſt ſpeak to the identical words uttered at one and the ſame time. There is yet another requiſite in Nuncupative Wills, which is not found here; namely, that the words be delivered in the laſt ſickneſs of a party: whereas the words here atteſted appear to have been delivered when the party was in a tolerable ſtate of health, at leaſt under no immediate danger of death. On theſe principles we may preſume Sir Leoline Jenkins to have acted in the rejection of Milton's Will: although the three witneſſes apparently told the truth in what they depoſed. The Judge, deciding againſt the Will, of courſe decreed adminiſtration of the Inteſtate's effects to the widow.

For an inveſtigation of theſe papers in the Prerogative Regiſtry, for an explanation of their nature and purport, and of other technical difficulties which they preſent to one unacquainted with the records and more ancient practice of the prerogative court in teſtamentary proceedings, I muſt confeſs myſelf indebted to the kind attention and friendſhip of Sir William Scott. There are other papers in the Commons belonging to this buſineſs: but as they are mere forms of law, as they throw no new light on the cauſe, and furniſh no anecdotes of Milton and his family, they are here omitted. T. Warton.

A List *of ſuch Editions of Milton's* Poetical Works *as have hitherto been met with by the editor of theſe volumes.*

I. A Maſke preſented at Ludlow Caſtle, 1634, &c. Printed for H. Robinſon, 1637. 4°. This is Lawes's edition of Comus.

II. Lycidas, in the Cambridge Verſes, 1638. 4to.

III. Poems by Mr. John Milton, both Engliſh and Latin, compoſed at ſeveral times. Printed by his true copies. The Songs were ſet in muſick by Mr. Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappel, &c. Printed and publiſhed according to order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moſeley, &c. 1645. ſmall 8°. with his portrait by Marſhall.

IV. The Sonnet to Henry Lawes, prefixed to Choice Pſalms put into muſick by H. and W. Lawes. Printed for H. Moſeley, 1648. 4°.

V. Paradiſe Loſt, a Poem written in ten books, by John Milton. Licenſed and Entred according to order. London, Printed and are to be ſold by Peter Parker under Creed Church near Aldgate; And by Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; and Matthias Walker under St. Dunſtons Church in Fleet-ſtreet. 1667. 4°. This is the *firſt title page* of the *firſt edition*. The poem immediately follows the title-page, without any arguments or liſt of errata.

2d *Title-page*, &c. Paradiſe Loſt, a Poem in ten books. The Author J. M. Licenſed and Entred according to order. London, Printed and are to be ſold by Peter Parker, &c. [as before] 1668.

3d *Title-page*, &c. Paradiſe Loſt, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and to be ſold by S. Thomſon at the Biſhops-head in Duck-lane, H. Mortlack at the White Hart in Weſtminſter-Hall, M. Walker under St. Dunſtans Church in Fleet-ſtreet, and

R. Boulter at the Turks-Head in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, 1668. To theſe titles of 1668, the addreſs of *The Printer to the Reader*, and the Arguments of each book, immediately ſucceed. A table of errata alſo precedes the poem.

4th *Title-page*, &c. Paradiſe Loſt, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be ſold by T. Helder at the Angel in Little Britain. 1669. With the addreſs of *The Printer to the Reader*, and the Arguments.

5th *Title-page*, &c. Paradiſe Loſt, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons &c. [as before] 1669, but without the ſubſequent addreſs of *The Printer to the Reader*, yet not without the Arguments; which appear to have been reprinted, as the two laſt leaves of the poem ſeem alſo to have been, in this *fifth* typographical alteration.

Of this edition ſome errata appear to have been corrected in ſome ſheets while they were paſſing through the preſs. I will mention an inſtance or two. Mr. Lofft obſerves, that the 257th line of the fifth book "begins a new paragraph in his copy of 1667, and that of 1669, and has no comma after *cloud*: but in that of 1668 it continues unbroken; and has a comma after *cloud*."—I have two copies of 1668, one of which, (in its original binding,) begins a paragraph with this verſe, and has no comma after cloud. The other agrees with Mr. Lofft's ſtatement. Again, the liſt of errata to my copy of 1668 directs *in* to be ſubſtituted for *with*, in the penultimate line of the third book: *In* is printed in both my copies of 1668. I have a copy of 1669 in which *with* remains. In the copies of 1668 and 1669 the number of this verſe alſo differs. Several variations of this kind might be pointed out. Perhaps ſome leaves were cancelled.

VI. Paradiſe Regained, a Poem in IV books. To which is added Samſon Agoniſtes. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey, &c. 1671. 8vo.

VII. Poems, &c. Upon ſeveral Occaſions. By Mr. John Milton: Both Engliſh and Latin, &c. Compoſed at ſeveral times. With a ſmall Tractate of Education to Mr. Hartlib. London, Printed for Tho. Dring &c. 1673. ſmall 8vo. To the Engliſh poems in this edition were firſt added, i. Ode on the death of a fair infant. ii. At a Vacation Exerciſe in the College. iii. On the new forces of conſcience under the Long Parliament. iv. Horace to Pyrrha. v. Nine Sonnets. vi. All the Engliſh Pſalms. To the Latin poems, i. Apologus de Ruſtico et Hero. ii. Ad Joannem Rouſium, &c. In this edition the epiſtle from Sir Henry Wotton is omitted.

VIII. Paradiſe Loſt, a Poem in twelve books. The Author John Milton. *The Second Edition,* Reviſed and Augmented by the ſame Author. London, Printed by S. Simmons, &c. 1674. ſmall 8vo. With his portrait by Dolle, and with the commendatory verſes of Barrow and Marvell. In the Advertiſement to the Glaſgow editions of the firſt book of Paradiſe Loſt in quarto, and of the whole poem in octavo, both printed in 1750, an edition of 1672 is mentioned as the ſtandard edition, of which the text is in theſe editions adopted. After a very extenſive and diligent inquiry, I have been unable, however, to meet with any copy bearing the date of 1672.

IX. Paradiſe Loſt, &c. 3d Edition. 1678. ſmall 8vo.

X. Par. Regained and Samſon &c. 1680. 8vo.

XI. Par. Loſt, 4th Edition. With his portrait by White, and other plates. Publiſhed by ſubſcription. Lond. Printed by Miles Fleſher for Richard Bentley, &c. 1688. Fol. To this edition the two following poems are uſually, but not always, found adjoined.

XII. Par. Regained, Lond. Printed by R. E. and ſold by Randal Taylor. 1688. Fol.

XIII. Samſon Agoniſtes, Lond. Printed and ſold by Randal Taylor. 1688. Fol.

XIV. Paradiſe Loſt and Regained, with cuts. London. 1692. Fol.

xv. Paradiſe Loſt. Lond. 1695. Fol. With Notes by P. Hume, and with a Table of the moſt remarkable parts of the poem, under the three heads of Deſcriptions, Similies, and Speeches.

xvi. Par. Regained, Samſon, and the Smaller Poems, were alſo printed, in folio for Tonſon, in 1695, and are moſt frequently found united with the Par. Loſt of the ſame year.

xvii. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. large 8vo. London. Printed for Tonſon, 1705.

xviii. The ſame, 2 vols. 8vo. 1707.

xix. Paradiſe Loſt, for Tonſon, 12mo. 1711. This edition is much eſteemed. Tickell ſeems to have printed his edition from it. To this edition is added the index of the principal matters, which Dr. Newton ſuppoſed to have been firſt inſerted in Tickell's edition.

xx. Par. Regained, Samſon, and the Smaller Poems, Lond. for Tonſon, 1713. 12mo. This edition is alſo valuable. It rectifies ſeveral errours of the text in the handſome, but incorrect, editions of 1705 and 1707.

This edition appeared with another bookſeller's name (W. Taylor) in the *general* title-page, and with the date of 1721: But in the *ſeparate* titles of Samſon, and the Poems, the true date remains. It is unqueſtionably the edition of 1713 with a new title-page.

xxi. Paradiſe Loſt, with Plates. Lond. 1719. 12mo.

xxii. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 4to. for Tonſon, 1720. With Mr. Addiſon's Criticiſm on the Par. Loſt, and an Index of the principal matters. This is Tickell's edition. It is ſplendidly printed. A liſt of more than 300 ſubſcribers is prefixed to it.

xxiii. The ſame, in 2 vols. 12mo. With Mr. Addiſon's Criticiſm. 1721.

xxiv. Paradiſe Loſt, 8vo. Dublin, for G. Grierſon, 1724.

xxv. Paradiſe Loſt, to which is prefixed an Account of the Life of Milton, 8vo. Lond. 1725. Fenton's edition.

xxvi. Par. Regained, Samſon, and the Smaller Poems, under the care alſo of Fenton, 8vo. 1725.

XXVII. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1727. Fenton's.

XXVIII. The ſame, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1730. Fenton's.

XXIX. The ſame, with Mr. Addiſon's Criticiſm, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1731.

XXX. Paradiſe Loſt, 4to. 1732. Bentley's edition.

XXXI. Paradiſe Loſt, 8vo. Lond. 1737.

XXXII. The ſame, 8vo. Lond. 1738.

XXXIII. The ſame, with Mr. Addiſon's Criticiſm, 8vo. Lond. 1739.

XXXIV. Paradiſe Loſt, 8vo. Tonſon. Lond. 1741.

XXXV. Par. Regained, Samſon, and the Smaller Poems, beautifully printed, and on a fine paper, large 8vo. Lond. 1742.

XXXVI. Paradiſe Loſt, 8vo. Lond. 1746.

XXXVII. Paradiſe Loſt, in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. For Tonſon. 1746.

XXXVIII. Par. Regained, Samſon, and the Smaller Poems, in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. For Tonſon, 1747. This and the preceding edition are printed with great correctneſs.

XXXIX. Paradiſe Loſt, compared with the authentick editions, and reviſed by John Hawkey, editor of the Latin Claſſicks. Dublin, printed by S. Powell for the editor. 1747, large 8vo. This edition, and the edition of Paradiſe Regained by the ſame perſon, are very handſomely printed, and are highly to be valued for their accuracy. They are now extremely ſcarce.

XL. Paradiſe Loſt, 4to. Dublin, 1747.

XLI. The ſame, "printed on Iriſh Paper," 8vo. Dublin, 1748.

XLII. Samſon, Poems upon ſeveral occaſions, and Comus, 8vo. Dublin, 1748.

XLIII. Paradiſe Loſt, with Notes of Various Authors, by Dr. Newton, in 2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1749.

XLIV. Paradiſe Loſt, Book the firſt. 4to. Glaſgow, 1750. With Notes: in which "are illuſtrated the various alluſions to ancient mythology, ſacred and profane, which are

ſo frequent in the firſt book of this divine poem. Many paſſages too of the ancient poets are there remarked, of which Milton has ſo admirably availed himſelf, or, to ſay it more properly, which he has ſo thoroughly made his own." *Advertiſement* This excellent publication has been attributed by ſome to Dr. Gillies, by others (more juſtly) to Mr. Callander. See the Preface to this edition.

XLV. Paradiſe Loſt, in twelve books. 8vo. Glaſgow, 1750.

XLVI. Paradiſe Loſt, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1750. Newton's edition.

XLVII. Paradiſe Loſt, in 2 vols. ſmall 8vo. With Notes. By John Marchant, Gent. Lond. 1751.

XLVIII. Paradiſe Loſt, in 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin, printed for J. Exſhaw. With Newton's Variorum Notes. 1751.

XLIX. Paradiſe Regained, Samſon, and the Smaller Poems, with Notes of Various Authors, by Dr. Newton, in one vol. 4to. Lond. 1752.

L. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin. 1752.

LI. The ſame, in 2 vols. 8vo. With a Gloſſary. Edinburgh. 1752.

LII. Paradiſe Regained. With the other Poetical Works. [ſmaller Poems.] Compared with the beſt editions, and reviſed by John Hawkey, editor of the Latin Claſſicks. 8vo. Dubl. 1752.

LIII. The ſame, 18mo. Glaſgow, 1752.

LIV. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1753.

LV. The Poetical Works, by Dr. Newton, in 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1753.

LVI. The ſame, in 3 vols. 4to. 1754.

LVII. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. ſmall 8vo. With a Critique upon Paradiſe Loſt by Mr. Addiſon, and a Preface in which are inſerted characters of the ſeveral pieces: With a Gloſſary, and the Life of Milton. Edinburgh, 1755.

LVIII. The ſame, 4 vols. 8vo. 1757. Newton's edit.

LIX. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. large 8vo. Printed at Birmingham by Baſkerville, in 1758.

LX. The ſame, by Baſkerville, in 2 vols. 4to. 1759.

LXI. The ſame, by Baſkerville, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1760. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to ſay of Baſkerville's editions that they are beautifully printed. They are now become ſcarce.

LXII. Paradiſe Loſt, Lond. Printed for Griffiths, 1760. 12mo.

LXIII. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1762.

LXIV. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. 1763. Newton's edit.

LXV. Paradiſe Loſt, edited by the famous John Weſley, M. A. and "curtailed of its fair proportion," but with a very good intention, for the following reaſons. "Of all the poems which have hitherto appeared in the world, in whatever age or nation, the preference has generally been given, by impartial judges, to Milton's Paradiſe Loſt. But this inimitable work, amidſt all its beauties, is unintelligible to abundance of readers: The immenſe learning, which he has every where crowded together, making it quite obſcure to perſons of a common education.

"This difficulty, almoſt inſuperable as it appears, I have endeavoured to remove in the following Extract: Firſt, By omitting thoſe lines, which I deſpaired of explaining to the unlearned, without uſing abundance of words: And, Secondly, by adding ſhort and eaſy notes, ſuch as I truſt will make the main of this excellent poem clear, and intelligible, to any uneducated perſon of a tolerable underſtanding." *To the Reader.* 1763. 12mo.

LXVI. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1766. Newton's edit.

LXVII. Paradiſe Loſt, with Notes of various Authors, by John Rice, 8vo. Lond. 1766.

LXVIII. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1767.

LXIX. The ſame, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1770. Newton's edit.

LXX. Paradiſe Loſt, folio. Glaſgow. 1770.

LXXI. Paradiſe Loſt, 12mo. Lond. 1770.

LXXII. Par. Regained, Samſon, &c. 12mo. Edinb. 1770.

LXXIII. The Poetical Works, with a Life, and a Gloſſary, in 2 vols. ſmall 8vo. Edinb. 1772.

LXXIV. The firſt ſix books of Paradiſe Loſt, rendered into

grammatical conſtruction: the words of the text being arranged, at the bottom of each page, in the ſame natural order with the conceptions of the mind; and the ellipſis properly ſupplied, without any alteration in the diction of the poem. With Notes, &c. By the late James Buchanan, Author of the Britiſh Grammar, &c. The manuſcript was left with Dr. James Robertſon, Profeſſor of Hebrew, who has publiſhed it for the benefit of Mr. Buchanan's widow. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1773.

LXXV. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1773. Newton's edit.

LXXVI. The ſame, 4 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1773.

LXXVII. Par. Regained, Samſon, &c. 12mo. Lond. 1773.

LXXVIII. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1773.

LXXIX. Paradiſe Loſt, and Paradiſe Regained, in 2 vols. ſmall 8vo. with Notes, tranſlated from the French of the learned Raymond de St. Maur: and various critical remarks from Mr. Addiſon, Dr. Warburton, Dr. Newton, Dr. Pearce, Dr. Bentley, Mr. Richardſon, and Mr. Hume. *A new edition.* Lond. 1775.

LXXX. The ſame, 3 vols. 4to. Lond. 1775. Newton's edit.

LXXXI. The ſame, 4 vols. 12mo. London, printed for Bell. 1776.

LXXXII. Paradiſe Loſt, 18mo. Glaſgow, Foulis. 1776.

LXXXIII. The ſame, 12mo. Lond. 1778.

LXXXIV. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1778. Newton's edit.

LXXXV. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1778.

LXXXVI. The Poetical Works, in Johnſon's edit. of the Poets of Gr. Brit. 3 vols. ſmall 8vo. 1779.

LXXXVII. The ſame, 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1779.

LXXXVIII. The ſame, 3 vols. 18mo. Lond. Printed for Wenman, 1781.

LXXXIX. Paradiſe Loſt, 12mo. Lond. 1784.

XC. Paradiſe Loſt, 12mo. Lond. 1784.

XCI. Poems, &c. viz. Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penſeroſo, Arcades, Comus, Odes, Sonnets, Miſcellanies, Engliſh

Pſalms, Elegiarum Liber, Epigrammatum Liber, Silvarum Liber. With Notes critical and explanatory, and other Illuſtrations. By Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, and late Profeſſor of Poetry at Oxford. 8vo. London. 1785.

xcii. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1785.

xciii. Paradiſe Regained, 12mo. Lond. 1785.

xciv. Paradiſe Loſt, illuſtrated with Texts of Scripture, by John Gillies, D. D. One of the Miniſters in Glaſgow. Small 8vo. Lond. 1788.

xcv. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1788. Bell.

xcvi. Paradiſe Loſt, 12mo. Lond. Vernor. 1789.

xcvii. The ſame, 2 vols. 18mo. Lond. 1790.

xcviii. The ſame, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1790. Newton's.

xcix. Poems, &c. viz. Lycidas, [as before] the ſecond edition by Mr. Warton, with many alterations and large additions. 8vo. Lond. 1791.

c. Paradiſe Loſt, printed from the firſt and ſecond editions collated. The original ſyſtem of orthography reſtored; the punctuation corrected and extended. With Various Readings: And Notes; chiefly rhythmical. By Capel Lofft, Eſq; Book the firſt. Bury St. Edmund's. 1792. Small quarto, of nearly the ſame ſize as the firſt edition. A learned Preface, and an Appendix, are prefixed to this book. The ſecond Book has been alſo publiſhed.

ci. Paradiſe Loſt, 2d edit. by Dr. Gillies, with additions. Small 8vo. Lond. 1793.

cii. Paradiſe Regained, 12mo. Alnwick. 1793.

ciii. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1794. Wilkin.

civ. The ſame, 3 vols. 12mo. with Tonſon's Text of 1711, &c. Newton's Notes. 1795.

cv. Paradiſe Regained. With Notes of Various Authors. By Charles Dunſter, M.A. 4to. Lond. 1795.

cvi. The Poetical Works, in Dr. Anderſon's Britiſh Poets, royal 8vo Lond. 1795.

CVII. The ſame, in Cooke's Select Britiſh Poets, with a Life of Milton, and Mr. Addison's Criticiſm on the Par. Loſt, 4 vols. 12mo. 1795.

CVIII. The ſame, in 2 vols. 8vo. elegantly printed by Benſley. Lond. 1796.

CIX. Par. Regained, Samſon, and the Smaller Poems, with ſelect Notes from Dr. Newton's, and Mr. Dunſter's editions. Lond. 8vo. 1797.

CX. The Poetical Works, with an excellent Life of the Author, by William Hayley, Eſq. In three folio volumes. Boydel and Nicol. 1794—1797. This magnificent edition does honour to the taſte and abilities of thoſe who were engaged in the production of it. It diſplays every elegance of typographical execution; and is accompanied with moſt beautiful Engravings from the deſigns of Weſtall. It is a monument indeed worthy of HIM, whoſe works entitle him to that ſupereminence among the poets of his country, which he has ſo happily aſſigned to his own glorious "Iſle" among the "ſea-girt" domains of Neptune, in his *Comus*, ver. 28.

"THE GREATEST AND THE BEST of all the main."

CXI. Comus, A Maſk, &c. With Notes critical and explanatory by various commentators, and with preliminary illuſtrations. To which is added a copy of the Maſk from a Manuſcript belonging to his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater. By the editor of theſe volumes. 8vo. Canterbury, 1798.

CXII. Comus, A Maſk, &c. To which are added L'Allegro and Il Penſeroſo, and Mr. Warton's Account of the Origin of Comus, [and the Account of Ludlow Caſtle, with ſome criticiſms on the poem, taken from the preceding edition.] Lond. ſmall 8vo. 1799.

CXIII. Paradiſe Loſt, beautifully printed, with plates by Richter, 4to. Lond. 1799.

CXIV. Paradiſe Loſt, to which is prefixed the celebrated Critique by Samuel Johnſon, LL.D. with a Sketch of the Life and Writings of Milton, by the Rev. John Evans, A.M. And with Engravings, royal 8vo. Lond. 1799.

CXV. The Poetical Works, in 4 vols. With a Critical Eſſay, by J. Aikin, M.D. ſmall 8vo. Lond. 1801.

CXVI. The Poetical Works, in 6 vols. With the principal Notes of various commentators. To which are added Illuſtrations, with ſome account of the Life of Milton, by the Rev. Henry J. Todd, M.A. (the preſent editor.) 8vo. Lond. 1801.

CXVII. Paradiſe Loſt, 2 vols. 8vo. beautifully printed by Benſley, and embelliſhed with fine engravings. Duroveray. Lond. 1802.

CXVIII. Paradiſe Loſt, 8vo. with Heptinſtall's plates. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1802.

CXIX. The ſame, in one vol. 18mo. Mawman, &c. 1804.

CXX. Paradiſe Loſt. Illuſtrated with Texts of Scripture, by Dr. Gillies, 3d edition, 12mo. Mawman, &c. 1804.

CXXI. Paradiſe Loſt, 8vo. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1804.

CXXII. Paradiſe Loſt, 12mo. Lond. 1805.

CXXIII. Poetical Works, (in Johnſon's edition of the Britiſh Poets,) with new Biographical and Critical Matter, by J. Aikin, M.D. 3 vols. 8vo. Kearſley. Lond. 1805.

CXXIV. The ſame, in 3 vols. 18mo. Kearſley. Lond. 1805.

CXXV. Poetical Works, by Thomas Park, 4 vols. 18mo. with beautiful engravings. Sharpe. Lond. 1805.

CXXVI. The ſame, in 2 vols. 32mo. Suttaby. Lond. 1806.

CXXVII. Poetical Works, (in Johnſon's edition of the Britiſh Poets,) 4 vols. 24mo. Bagſter, &c. Lond. 1807.

CXXVIII. Paradiſe Loſt, with Johnſon's Critique and Life of Milton, 12mo. Lond. Tegg. 1807.

CXXIX. Paradiſe Loſt, with a Life of the Author, handſomely printed in poſt 8vo. with many fine plates. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1808.

CXXX. The ſame, in one vol. 32mo. Walker, &c. 1808.

CXXXI. Poetical Works, with a Critical Eſſay, by J. Aikin, M.D. and the preſent editor' text. 4 vols. 8vo Cadell, 1808.

CXXXII. Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, tranſlated into Engliſh Verſe, with the Originals; and a Fragment of a Commentary on Paradiſe Loſt, by the late William Cowper, Eſq. 4to. Johnſon. Lond. 1808.

Greek Tranſlations.

I. In 1736, the celebrated Richard Dawes publiſhed propoſals for printing, by ſubſcription, "Paradiſi Amiſſi, à cl. Miltono conſcripti, Liber primus, Græcâ verſione donatus, unà cum annotationibus." Theſe propoſals were accompanied with a ſpecimen, which may be ſeen in the ſeventh volume of *The General Dictionary*, p. 587, and in the Preface to his *Miſcellanea Critica*, where he explains his reaſons for not proceeding in his undertaking, and very ingenuouſly points out the errours of his own performance. See Biograph. Brit. vol. 5. edit. Kippis, p. 20.

II. Paradiſi Amiſſi Liber primus Græcè, cum celebri verſione Latinâ Rev. Gulielmi Dobſon, Oxonienſis, nuper defuncti. [Dedicated by the tranſlator, Dr. Stratford, to the then biſhop of Derry.] Dublin, 4to. 1770.

III. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1779, p. 191, the following mention is made of a Greek tranſlation by "Thomas Denny, a literary itinerant, particularly ſkilled in Greek. Among the Roman poets, Horace and Virgil were his chief favourites, as Homer was of the Greek, whoſe ſtyle he has well imitated in a tranſlation of the firſt ſix books of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt into Greek; which, with a great number of detached pieces on various ſubjects, in that and Latin, were preſerved by ſeveral gentlemen of his acquaintance."

IV. Johannis Miltoni Samſon Agoniſtes Græco carmine redditus cum verſione Latinâ. A Georgio Henrico Glaſſe, A. M. Ædis Chriſti nuper Alumno. Oxon. 8vo. 1788.

V. In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1791, p. 471, a ſpecimen of a Greek tranſlation, dated Hertford, May 11, 1791. by James Moore, Maſter of the Grammar School, is offered to the publick; according to which ſpecimen, "I purpoſe," ſays Mr. Moore, "publiſhing Milton's Paradiſe Loſt."

VI. Miltonis Poema, Lycidas, Græcè redditum [à Joanne Plumptre, tunc Canonico Vigornienſi, nunc autem Decano Gloceſt.] 4to. 1797.

Latin Tranſlations.

I. Paradiſus Amiſſa, Poema Heroicum, quod à Joanne Miltono Anglo Anglicè ſcriptum in decem libros digeſtum eſt, nunc autem à viris quibuſdam natione eâdem oriundis in Linguam Romanam transfertur. Liber primus. Imprim. Nov. 18. 1685. 4to. Lond. Impenſis T. Dring, 1686. A dedication to Sir Thomas Mompeſſon is prefixed, ſigned by J. C.

II. Johannis Miltoni Paradiſi Amiſſi Liber primus, ex Anglicanâ linguâ in Latinam converſus. 4to. Cantabrigiæ, 1691. The dedication is ſigned by T. P., who is ſaid to be Thomas Power, of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. He tranſlated into Latin verſe the remaining books, which exiſt in manuſcript. See Peck's Memoirs of Milton, p. 68.

III. Paraphraſis Poetica in tria Johannis Miltoni, viri clariſſimi, Poemata, viz. Paradiſum Amiſſum, Paradiſum Recuperatum, et Samſonem Agoniſten. Autore Gulielmo Hogæo. 8vo. Lond. 1690. And at Rotterdam, 1699.

From the dedications of this ingenious and learned Scotchman, prefixed to his tranſlations of Lycidas and Comus, we learn that he experienced great diſtreſs. He had publiſhed in 1682 "Paraphraſis in Jobum Poetica;" and afterwards "Satyra Sacra, ſive Paraphraſis in Eccleſiaſten Poetica." To this publication he has prefixed a poetical account of himſelf. He appears to have been a native of Gowry in Perthſhire, and to have known only misfortune ſince he came into England. He publiſhed alſo "Liber primus Principis Arcturi (à Rich. Blackmore, Eq. Aur.) Latinè red. 1700," and ſeveral other Latin verſions of Engliſh poems. Of a perſon, who had thus contributed to extend the fame of Milton, theſe few notices may not ſeem improper. I wiſh I could add that his

declining days were comfortable. Part of his ſacred poetry has been reprinted in "Poetarum Scotorum Muſæ Sacræ, 2 tom. Edinb. 1739:" of which William Lauder is the editor. Of his Paradiſe Loſt Lauder baſely availed himſelf. See vol. vi. p. 408.

IV. Paraphraſis Latina in duo Poemata, (quorum alterum à Miltono, alterum à Clievlando, Anglicè ſcriptum fuit,) quibus deploratur mors juvenis præclari et eruditi, D. Edvardi King, qui nave, quâ vectabatur, ſaxo illiſâ, in Oceano Hybernico ſubmerſus eſt. Autore Gulielmo Hogæo. London, printed for the author. 4to. 1694. There is another Latin tranſlation of Lycidas in hexameters, preſerved in the Lambeth MSS. No. 841. 8.—I am alſo poſſeſſed of a Latin tranſlation of Lycidas in manuſcript.

V. Luſus Amatorius; ſive Muſæi Poema &c. Cui aliæ (tres ſcilicèt) accedunt nugæ poeticæ. Authore C. B. è Coll. Di. Jo. Bapt. Soc. The firſt of theſe "nugæ poeticæ" is Fragmentum libri quinti Poematis verè Divini quod Paradiſus Amiſſa inſcribitur, &c. 4to. Lond. 1694. Peck was miſinformed by Dr. Birch in dating this publication 1699.

VI. Comœdia Joannis Miltoni, viri clariſſimi, (quæ agebatur in Arce Ludenſi,) paraphraſticè reddita, à Gulielmo Hogæo. 4to. Lond. 1698.

VII. Paradiſus Amiſſa. Poema Anglicè ſcriptum à Johanne Milton. Nunc autem ex Auctoris exemplari Latinè redditum. Per M. B [old, Aul. Trin. Cantab. Soc.] Liber primus. 8vo. Lond. 1702. The tranſlator printed two other title-pages: viz. "Paradiſus Amiſſa. Poema, Latino carmine redditum ex ipſo Authore Johanne Milton. Lib. prim. Lond. 1702." And "Paradiſus Amiſſa Miltonia, Lat. carmine reddita. Lib. prim. *Operis totius ſpecimen.* Lond. 1717." Reprinted in 4to. 1736.

VIII. Peck relates that, in 1709, he was informed at Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford, that Dr. William Tilly, a learned fellow of that ſociety, had tranſlated a great part of the

Paradiſe Loſt into Latin verſe. See Mem. of Milton, p. 69.

IX. Part of the fourth book of Paradiſe Loſt, tranſlated into Latin hexameters, by John Theobald, dedicated to Francis Douce, M. D. 4to. Lond. Printed by B. Milles. [Without date.]

X. In Dodſley's Publick Regiſter for 1741, p. 85, there is a tranſlation from Il Penſeroſo into Latin hexameters, ſigned W. R.; and a ſecond, from the ſame poem, into elegiacks, by the ſame perſon, in p. 86.

XI. Miltoni Paradiſus Amiſſus, 2 vols, 4to. Dr Trapp's tranſlation. Vol. 1ſt. 1740, vol. 2d. 1744.

XII. The beginning of the firſt book of Paradiſe Loſt tranſlated into Latin hexameters, by Mr. Samuel Say. Poems, 4to. Lond. 1745.

XIII. The ſame. by L. de Bonneval, Gent. Mag. 1746, p. 548. The ſame number of lines is alſo extracted from the verſions of Power, Bold, and Trapp, with the addition of another tranſlation, ſigned I. C. p. 661.

XIV. Tranſlations from Comus in the Carmina Quadrageſimalia, Oxon. 1748, vol. ii. pp. 25, 73.

XV. A Latin verſion of L'Allegro, by Chriſtopher Smart, Poems, p. 181. edit. 4to. 1752.

XVI. The Ode on May Morning, tranſlated into Latin hexameters, in Dodſley's Muſeum, vol. i. p. 217.

XVII. Paradiſus Amiſſus Poema Joannis Miltoni, Latinè redditum à Gulielmo Dobſon, LL. B. Nov. Coll. Oxon, Socio. 2 vols. 4to. 1753. This admirable tranſlation was encouraged by Mr. Benſon, who had erected in Weſtminſter Abbey the monument to the poet. Oldys, in his manuſcript notes on Langbaine's Dramatick poets, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, ſays that Dobſon's reward was to be a thouſand pounds when the tranſlation ſhould be finiſhed, with the intereſt of that ſum while he was performing it.

XVIII. Imitata à Miltoni L'Allegro Carmina. Dated Lichfield, Nov. 1, 1794. Gent. Mag. vol. 64, p. 1134.

Italian Tranſlations.

I. The celebrated Mr. Berkeley, afterwards biſhop of Cloyne, had been informed in 1714, that, at Florence, Milton was then tranſlated into Italian verſe. See Mem. of biſhop Berkeley, 2d edit. p. 54. The younger Richardſon had alſo ſeen at Florence an Italian tranſlation of Paradiſe Loſt in manuſcript by the Abbé Salvini, who, in 1715, publiſhed an Italian verſion of Addiſon's Cato. Whether this might be the tranſlation, of which information had been given to Mr. Berkeley; or whether a tranſlation of Milton's other Poems alſo had been made, cannot now be known. However, ſee the next article in this liſt of Italian tranſlations. Wright, in his Travels through France, Italy, &c. in 1720, 1721, and 1722, notices Salvini's tranſlation of Cato, which, he ſays, "Mr. Addiſon himſelf declared was the beſt tranſlation he ever ſaw." And he adds, Salvini "ſhewed us ſome parts of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, which he had occaſionally turned into Italian; and they read admirably well in that harmonious language." Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 425. Salvini's tranſlation has not been publiſhed. The learned Abbé was extremely fond of Engliſh literature. He thus declares his love, in a letter to a friend, dated Nov. 18. 1713. "Or che penſate? ultimamente mi ſono addato all' Ingleſe, e mi diletta, e mi giova aſſaiſſimo. E gl' Ingleſi, eſſendo nazione penſativa, inventiva, bizzarra, libera, e franca, io ci trovo ne' loro libri di grande vivacità, e ſpirito, e la Greca, e l' altre lingue molto mi conferiſcono a tenere a mente i loro vocaboli per via d' etimologíe, e di ſimilitudini di ſuoni." Lettere d' Uomini illuſtri, Venez. 4to. 1735, p. 167. It appears that Salvini tranſlated alſo *The Fair Penitent*, and *Jane Shore*, into Italian. Ibid, p. 322.

II. Paradiſo Perduto, primo libro, tradotto dal Conte Lorenzo Magalotti. MS. See the Catalogue of Shelburne Papers, p. 117. Lot 891. The Conte Magalotti is thus deſcribed

in an Elegy by Henry Newton, entitled *Nemora Florentina*, 1709.

" Sed cùm cœleſtem referat mirantibus orbem,
" Miltonique comes, nobile ſurgit opus;
" Tum ſuperûm redeunt acies, atque acta deorum;
" Reſque ſimul ſuperûm, verba, modoſque legunt."

See *Henrici Newton Epiſtolæ, Orationes, et Carmina*, 4to. Lucæ, 1710. Carm. p. 31. This Henry Newton was the friend of Lord Somers, and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Tuſcany. Poſſibly Magalotti's verſion might be that of which Berkeley had received information.

III. Del Paradiſo Perduto Poema Ingleſe di Giovanni Milton Traduzzione di Paolo Rolli. Londra, fol. 1735.

IV. Il Paradiſo Perduto di Giovanni Milton, tradotto in Verſo Italiano da Felice Mariottini. With the Life of Milton, and Mr. Addiſon's Criticiſm; to both which, additions are ſubjoined: And with copious annotations. The firſt book only. Lond. 8vo. 1794.

V. Il Paradiſo Perduto di Giovanni Milton, tradotto in Verſo Italiano da Felici Mariottini. [The whole Poem, in two parts.] Lond. 8vo. 1796.

VI. Mr. Walker, in his Hiſt. Memoir on Italian Tragedy, 1799, p. 229, relates that the learned Antonio Conti, a Venetian nobleman, who, with the aſſiſtance of Lord Bolingbroke, had made a free verſion of the whole of Pope's Rape of the Lock, had tranſlated part of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt; which, however, is ſuppoſed not to have been publiſhed.

VII. Il Como, Favola Boſchereccia, trad. da Gaetano Polidori, 8vo. Lond. 1802.

VIII. L'Allegro, trad. da Gaetano Polidori, 12mo. Lond. 1805. [In this and the preceding tranſlation, many paſſages are preſented in their foreign dreſs with remarkable elegance and felicity; and both ſtrongly evince the ability of Signor Polidori.]

IX. Como, Dramma con Maſchere di Milton, traduzzione ſoſtenuta ad litteram, 4to. Par. 1806. [Publiſhed with a

French literal tranſlation alſo of Comus. See the Liſt of French Tranſlations.]

French Tranſlations.

I. Voltaire, in a letter to Horace Walpole, dated 15 July, 1768, ſays, " I was the firſt that introduced Shakſpeare to the French; *forty years ago* I tranſlated ſome paſſages from him, as well as from Milton, Waller, &c. See Hiſt. Memoirs of Voltaire, Lond. 8vo. 1777, p. 208.

II. Le Paradis Perdu, &c. Avec les remarques de M. Addiſon. Par Monſ. Dupré de St. Maur. In proſe. 3 vols. 12mo. Paris, in 1729.

III. Le Paradis Perdu, Le Par. Reconquis, Lycidas, Il Penſeroſo, et Cantique ſur la fête de Noel, &c. 3 vols. 12mo. Hag. 1730. To this edition are added Diſſertation Critique de M. Conſtantin de Magny, which is thought by ſome to have been written by the Abbe Pellegrin, and La Chûte de l' Homme, poeme François par M. Durand. Several paſſages are reſtored in this edition, which in that of Paris had been retrenched.

IV. Traduction de Milton, Liv. i. ver. 242, &c. i. e. Diſcours de Satan precipitè du haut de Ciel à la vue de l'Enfer. [By Mr. Rumgold, a Student in the Jeſuits College, at Paris. In French rhymes. Printed in *Poems by J. Whaley, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge*, 8vo. 1745.]

V. Traduction du Paradis Perdu, chargée de Notes. Par Louis Racine, en 3 vols. 8vo. " Elle eſt, en quelques endroits, plus fidele que celle de M. Dupré de St Maur; mais on n' y ſent point, comme dans celle-ci, l' enthouſiaſme de l' Homére Anglois." Vid. Nouv. Dict. Hiſt. à Caen, *Racine*, (Louis.)

VI. L'Allegro et Le Penſieroſo de Milton. Traduit en vers François. Par Ribouville. 4to. Lond. 1766.

VII. M. de Beaulaton a fait paroitre, en 1777 et 1778, une traduction en vers François de Paradis Perdu, laquelle offre

des beautés et des défauts. See Nouv. Dict. Hiſt. à Caen, *Milton*, (Jean.)

VIII. Le Paradis Perdu, &c. de St. Maur's edit. 3 vols. 18mo. Geneve, 1777.

IX. Le Même, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1782. To this edition, beſides the Lettres Critiques ſur le Paradis Perdu, et ſur le Paradis Reconquis, are added ſeveral Notes on the text.

X. Le Pere de Mareuil, Jéſuite, a donné une traduction Françoiſe, in 12mo. de Paradis Reconquis. See Nouv. Dict. à Caen, *Milton*, (Jean.)

XI. Le Paradis Perdu, &c. 2 vols, large quarto, with fine engravings. A magnificent edition. Printed at Paris. 1792.

XII. Paradis Perdu, trad. par M. Monneron.

XIII. Les Amours Epiques, &c. [That is, tranſlations of Epiſodes on Love, compoſed by the beſt epick poets. Accordingly part of Milton's fourth book of Paradiſe Loſt is here *very curiouſly done into French!*] Trad. par P. Grandmaiſon, 12mo. 1804.

XIV. Paradis Perdu, trad. per Jacques de Lille, Paris & Lond. 1805.

XV. Comus, Maſque de Milton, traduction littérale, 4to. Par. 1806. [This and the Italian tranſlation of Comus in 1806 are ſtated in a preface by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Egerton to have been made by two perſons, whom he engaged in this employment, " dont les talens littéraires ſont connus."]

Dutch and German Tranſlations.

I. Jo. Miltons verluſtigte Paradies, &c. 8vo. Zerbſt. 1682. [Of this book Vogt gives the following account: " Liber ſummè quidèm rarus, at immeritò, cùm verſio ſit inſulſa. Cauſſa raritatis procul dubio exindè derivanda, quia autor Ernſt. Gottl. vom Berge propriis ſumptibus excudendum curavit." *Catal. Lib. Rar.* ed Hamb. 1747, p. 467.

II. Milton Paradys Valooren, 4to. Harlem, 1728. In Dutch blank verſe. This is preſumed to be the tranſlation by Mr. Theodore Haake, R. S. S., which, Aubrey ſays, was highly approved by Fabricius.

III. Het Paradys Verlooren. Geſchetſt na't Engelſch Heldendicht van John Milton, door L. P. 8vo. Amſteldam, 1730. [In rhyme; with a few notes, and a life of Milton.]

IV. Jo. Miltons Verluſt des Pardieſes, &c. 8vo. Franck. fund Leipzig, 1732.

V. Milton's wiedereroberies Paradies, 8vo. Baſil, 1752.

VI. ——— verlohrnes Paradies, von Zacharia, 2 bande, 8vo. Altona, 1762.

VII. Daſſelbe, von Bodmer. Zurich, 1769.

VIII. Daſſelbe, von Bodmer, 2 bande, 8vo. Zurich, 1780. This excellent German poet has alſo given a critical analyſis of the Paradiſe Loſt. Of the high eſteem, in which the poetry of Milton was held by Bodmer, and alſo by Klopſtock, ſee proofs in " Caractéres des poëtes les plus diſtingués de l' Allemagne. Par M. Pfenninguer. Zurich, 1789."

IX. Milton's Allegro und Penſeroſo, 8vo. Enriched with beautiful head and tail-pieces. Germ. and Eng. Manheim, 1782.

X. ——— wiedereroberies Paradies, nebſt ſeinem leben, anch dramat. und kleinen neuern Gedichten. 8vo. Deſſau, 1782.

XI. ——— verl. Paradies, übers. v. Bürde, 2 Thle, 8vo. Berlin, 1793.

Spaniſh Tranſlation.

I. In *Los Eruditos a la Violeta* by Don Joſeph Vaſques, publiſhed in 1772, part of the firſt book of Paradiſe Loſt is quoted and tranſlated. See the Appendix to Twiſs's Travels through Portugal and Spain.

Portugueſe Tranſlations.

I. Paraiſo perdido, poëma heroico de J. Milton, traduzido em vulgar pelo P. Joſé Amaro da Silva, Preſbitero Vimarenſe. Com o Paraiſo reſtaurado do meſmo author. (With ſhort Notes, and Mr. Addiſon's Criticiſm.) Em Liſboa, 2 vols. 8vo. 1792.

Ruſſian Tranſlation.

I. Storch, in his *Picture of Peterſburg*, mentions a Ruſſian tranſlation of Paradiſe Loſt.

Engliſh Tranſlations.

I. The Epigram on Salmaſius, by Mr. Waſhington, 1692.

II. The Verſes to Chriſtina, in Toland's Life of Milton, 1698. They are aſcribed to Fleetwood Shephard in a worthleſs book, entitled *Chorus Poetarum*, 8vo. 1684. They have lately been tranſlated alſo in the Monthly Magazine.

III. Milton's Italian Poems, tranſlated and addreſſed to a Gentleman of Italy. By Dr. J. Langhorne, 4to. 1776.

IV. Some of the Italian Sonnets and the Canzone, have alſo appeared, either tranſlated or freely paraphraſed, in Aaron Hill's Works, in the Gentleman's Magazine, the Lady's Magazine, the Annual Regiſter, Fawkes and Woty's Poetical Calendar, the edition of the Poets in 1779, and in the Monthly Magazine by Capel Lofft Eſq.

V. Manſo; from the Latin of Milton; in Engliſh heroicks. In Poems by the Rev. Joſeph Sterling, Lond. 8vo. 1789.

VI. Nature not liable to decay. From Milton's Latin Poem, by the Rev Henry Boyd. Poet. Regiſt. for 1805, p. 32.

VII. Many ſpirited and elegant tranſlations from the Latin poems, by the Rev. Dr. Symmons, in his Life of Milton, 1806.

VIII. Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, tranſlated into Engliſh verſe, &c. By the late William Cowper Eſq. With a Preface by the Editor, [William Hayley, Eſq.] 4to. Chicheſter, 1808. Several admirable tranſlations from theſe Poems of Milton by Cowper, had appeared in Mr. Hayley's Life of the great poet, in 1794.

Alterations of Milton.

I. The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man. An opera, in rhyme, by Dryden. 4to. 1674

II. Milton's Paradiſe Loſt imitated in rhyme. In the fourth, ſixth, and ninth books; containing The Primitive Loves, The Battle of the Angels, The Fall of Man. By Mr. John Hopkins. Lond. 8vo. 1699. This rhymiſt opens his Preface thus: "It has been the misfortune of *one of my name* to affront the ſacred proſe of David with intollerable rhyme; and 'tis mine, I fear, to have abus'd allmoſt as ſacred verſe!"—I am clearly of opinion, from a peruſal of theſe rhymes, that John Hopkins is a true deſcendant of the *original John Hopkins*, and the worthy heir of his poetical fame. He was partly induced *to put Milton into rhyme*, according to his intimation in the Preface, in order *to oblige the ladies!*

III. A Paraphraſe in verſe, on part of the firſt book of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, by W. Howard. 4to. London. Printed for the author, 1738. The title-page was varied. For the author, an aged and infirm man, in order to relieve his wants, circulated his paraphraſe by printing on every title-page an addreſs to ſome diſtinguiſhed perſon. My copy is inſcribed to the Dutcheſs of Bolton.

IV. Comus, a Maſk. Now adapted to the Stage. As altered from Milton's Maſk. By Dr. Dalton. Lond. 12mo. 1735. This judicious and elegant alteration has been often reprinted, both in 12mo. and in 8vo. It was received with the higheſt applauſe on its firſt repreſentation. The Songs were ſet to muſick by Dr. Arne.

V. Sabrina, an Opera, Ital. and Eng. (the baſis of which is profeſſed to be the Maſk of Comus) by Paul Rolli, 12mo. Lond. 1737.

VI. Le Paradis Terreſtre. Imité de Milton. Divertiſſement ſpirituel en un Acte. Exécuté par l'Academie de Muſique de Poitiers, le 23 de Mars 1736. See Oeuvres Mêlées de M. l'Abbé Nadal, Paris. 1738.

VII. L'Allegro and Il Penſeroſo, with a third part, entitled Moderation, adapted to Handel's Muſick, 1739.

VIII. Par. Loſt, attempted in rhime, Book I. 8vo. Lond. 1740. By A. Jackſon, Bookſeller in Clare-Court, Drury Lane.

IX. Samſon, altered, with the admiſſion of many paſſages from Milton's early poems, and adapted to Handel's Muſick, 1742.

X. The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man: Deſcribed in Milton's Par. Loſt. Render'd into proſe. With Notes &c. From the French of Raymond de St. Maur. By a Gentleman of Oxford. Lond. Printed for Oſborne, 1745. 8vo. Mr. Steevens ridicules Oſborne for this publication, as being ignorant in what form or language our Paradiſe Loſt was written. Shakſpeare, vol. i. p. 72. edit. 1793.

XI. Le Paradis Terreſtre. Poeme Imité de Milton, en vi chants. Par Madame du Bocage. 8vo. Lond. 1748.

XII. There is, in French alſo, La Chriſtiade ou Le Paradis Reconquis, pour ſervir de ſuite au Paradis Perdu de Milton. With a large Diſcours Preliminaire. In ſix volumes, à Bruxelles, (or rather at Paris,) 1753.

XIII. A New Verſion of Paradiſe Loſt, &c. In which the meaſure and verſification are corrected and harmoniſed; the obſcurities elucidated; and the faults, which the author ſtands accuſed of by Addiſon and other of the criticks, are removed. With annotations on the original text, to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of this new Verſion!! By a Gentleman of Oxford. 8vo. 1756. The name of this doughty reformer, ſhrouding himſelf under a fictitious title, was Green. See Farmer's Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare, 3d. edit. p. 27. Of this *New Verſion* only the firſt book appeared. The performance indeed is a moſt ſtriking example of vanity and abſurdity united.

XIV. Tanevot, a learned Frenchman, has been ſuppoſed to be indebted to Milton in his tragedy of Adam and Eve, which is publiſhed with his other works in 1765. See Nouv. Dict. Hiſt. à Caen. *Tanevot*, (Alexandre.)

XV. The Recovery of Man, or Milton's Paradiſe Regained, in Proſe. After the manner of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, author of Telemachus. To which is prefixed the life of the Author. 12mo. ſ. l. 1771.

XVI. Comus, A Maſk. Altered from Milton. By George Colman, Eſq. 8vo. 1772. This alteration alſo has been frequently reprinted, and is the Comus which now preſerves its place upon the Stage.

XVII. Adam, or the Fatal Diſobedience. An Oratorio. In Poems of R. Jago. Lond. 1784.

XVIII. Le Paradis Reconquis: Poëme, imité de Milton, par L. R. Lafaye, Gradué en l'Univerſité de Paris Maitre de Langue Françoiſe, en vi chants. 12mo. Lond. 1789.

Detached Pieces of Criticiſm relating to Milton, his editors, &c.

I. Annotations on Milton's Paradiſe Loſt. Wherein the texts of Sacred Writ, relating to the Poem, are quoted; the parallel places and imitations of the moſt excellent Homer, and Virgil, cited and compared; all the obſcure parts render'd in phraſes more familiar; the old and obſolete words, with their Originals, explain'd and made eaſie to the Engliſh reader. By P[atrick] H[ume.] Φιλοποιήτης. Lond. Fol. 1695. [Uſually, but not always, ſubjoined to Tonſon's edit. of 1695.]

II. Milton's Sublimity aſſerted, Lond. 8vo. 1709.

III. Addiſon's Criticiſm on the Paradiſe Loſt, [Separately printed.] 12mo. London. Printed for Tonſon, 1719.

IV. Voltaire's Eſſay on the epick poetry of the European nations, from Homer down to Milton, Lond. 8vo. 1727.

V. Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Eſſay on the epick poetry of the European nations. By Paul Rolli. Lond. 8vo. 1728. [This writer is the tranſlator of Paradiſe Loſt into Italian verſe. He defends Milton, with conſiderable acuteneſs, againſt ſeveral of Voltaire's prepoſterous criticiſms.]

VI. Diſſertation Critique ſur le Paradis Perdu Poëme Heroique de Milton, par M. Conſtantin de Magny, &c. 12mo. Par. 1729. [See the preceding Liſt of French Tranſlations, No. III.]

VII. Dr. Bentley's Emendations on the twelve books of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, 12mo. Lond. 1732.

VIII. Milton reſtor'd, and Bentley depos'd. Containing i. Some obſervations on Dr. Bentley's Preface. ii. His various readings and notes on Paradiſe Loſt, and Milton's text, ſet in oppoſite columns, with remarks thereon. iii. Paradiſe Loſt, attempted in rime, Book the firſt, addreſſed to Dr. Bentley, from Dean Swift. Numb. I. Lond. 8vo. 1732. [The pretended addreſs to Bentley from Dean Swift is printed in the ſecond volume of this edition, p. 281, where a further account of this pamphlet is given. The addreſs is borrowed from Swift's Advice to a Young Poet.]

IX. A friendly Letter to Dr. Bentley. Occaſion'd by his new edition of Paradiſe Loſt. By a Gentleman of Chriſt-Church College, Oxon. Lond. 8vo. 1732. [The author ſaid to be Dr. Pearce.]

X. A Review of the Text of the twelve books of Par. Loſt, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are conſider'd, &c. [Firſt printed in ſeparate parts.] Lond. 1732. [Complete.] Lond. 8vo. 1733. [By Dr. Pearce.]

XI. Critical Diſſertation on Paradiſe Regained, by the Rev. Mr. Meadowcourt, Prebendary of Worceſter. Lond. 4to. 1732. Reprinted in 8vo. 1748.

XII. Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradiſe Loſt. By J. Richardſon, Father and Son. With the Life of the Author, and a Diſcourſe on the Poem. By J. R. Sen. Lond. 8vo. 1734.

XIII. Remarks on Spenſer's Poems, and on Milton, Lond. 8vo. 1734. [By Dr. Jortin.]

XIV. Remarks on the three firſt books of Par. Loſt, by Mr. Warburton, in the Works of the Learned, 1739, &c.

XV. Letters concerning Poetical Tranſlations, and Virgil's and Milton's Arts of Verſe, &c. Lond. 8vo. 1739. [By William Benſon, Eſq.]

XVI. Explanatory and Critical Notes on divers paſſages of Milton and Shakſpeare, with an examination of Milton's ſtile, by Francis Peck, M. A. Printed with his "New Memoirs of the Life &c. of Milton." 4to. 1740.

XVII. Eſſay on Milton's imitation of the Ancients, 8vo. 1741.

XVIII. A complete Commentary, with etymological, explanatory, critical, and claſſical Notes on Par. Loſt. By James Paterſon, M.A., and Philologiſt. Lond. 8vo. 1744.

XIX. Eſſay on the Numbers of Par. Loſt. By Mr. Samuel Say. Printed with his Poems, 4to. 1745.

XX. Lauder's Attack againſt Milton, in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1746-7, &c.

XXI. Zoilomaſtix: or a Vindication of Milton from all the invidious charges of Mr. William Lauder. With ſome new Remarks on Paradiſe Loſt. By R. Richardſon, B.A. late of Clare-Hall, Cambridge. 8vo. 1747.

XXII. Furius: or a modeſt Attempt towards an hiſtory of the life and ſurpriſing exploits of the famous W[illiam] L[auder], Critick and Thief-Catcher, 8vo. 1748. [Said to be written by Mr. Henderſon, a bookſeller.]

XXIII. An Eſſay on Milton's uſe and imitation of the Moderns, in his Par. Loſt. By William Lauder. Lond. 8vo. 1750. [With a Preface by Dr. Johnſon.]

XXIV. Pandæmonium: Or a New infernal Expedition, inſcribed to a Being who calls himſelf William Lauder, 4to. 1750.

XXV. Milton vindicated from the Charge of Plagiariſm, brought againſt him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himſelf convicted of ſeveral Forgeries and Impoſitions on the Publick. By John Douglas, M.A. Rector of Eton Conſtantine, Salop. [Late Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury.] 8vo. 1750.

XXVI. The Preface to the Sea-Piece, a Poem, [containing a defence of Milton againſt Lauder.] By J. Kirkpatrick, M.D. 8vo. Lond. 1750.

XXVII. Criticiſm on Samſon Agoniſtes, in the Rambler, No. 139, 140. [Dr. Johnſon.] 1750.

XXVIII. Criticiſm on the Verſification of Milton, in The ſame, No. 86, &c.

XXIX. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Douglas, occaſioned by his Vindication of Milton, &c. By William Lauder, A.M. 4to. 1751. [Written by Dr. Johnſon.]

XXX. An Apology for Mr. Lauder. In a Letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 8vo. 1751.

XXXI. Criticiſm on Blemiſhes in the Paradiſe Loſt, in The Adventurer, No. 101. [Dr. J. Warton.] 1752.

XXXII. King Charles I. vindicated from the charge of Plagiariſm, brought againſt him by Milton, and Milton himſelf convicted of Forgery, and a groſs Impoſition on the Publick, &c. By W. Lauder, 8vo. 1754. [Of this impudent pamphlet, the title of which is a parody on Mr. Douglas's Vindication of Milton, ſee an account in *The Inquiry into the Origin of Par. Loſt*, in the ſecond volume of this edition.]

XXXIII. Milton no Plagiary: or A Detection of the Forgeries contained in Lauder's Eſſay &c. By J. Douglas, &c. [As before, 2d edit. enlarged.] 8vo. 1756.

XXXIV. Remarks upon Paradiſe Loſt, hiſtorical, geographical, philological, critical, and explanatory. By W. Maſſey. 12mo. 1761.

XXXV. Il Taſſo, a Dialogue: the Speakers John Milton, and Torquato Taſſo. In which new light is thrown on their poetical and moral characters. 8vo. 1761.

XXXVI. A familiar Explanation of the Poetical Works of Milton. To which is prefixed Mr. Addiſon's Criticiſm on Par. Loſt. With a Preface. By the Rev. Mr. Dodd. Lond. 12mo. 1762.

XXXVII A Letter concerning Epick Poems, taken from Scripture Hiſtory, 8vo. Lond. 1764.

XXXVIII. Eſſays on Various Subjects of Taſte and Criticiſm, 8vo. Lond. 1780. [In which is a Critique on the firſt book of Paradiſe Loſt.]

XXXIX. Prefaces Biographical and Critical to the works of the moſt eminent Engliſh poets, by Dr. Johnſon. 1781.

XL. Criticiſm on Paradiſe Loſt, by Dr. Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetorick, &c. 4to. 1783.

XLI. Criticiſm on Samſon Agoniſtes, in refutation of the

cenſures of Dr. Johnſon, by Mr. Cumberland, in The Obſerver, 8vo. 1784.

XLII. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. T. Warton, on his late Edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems. [Said to be written by Samuel Derby, M.A. Rector of Whatfield in Suffolk.] Lond. 8vo. 1785.

XLIII. Critical Eſſay on Lycidas, By John Scott, Eſq. Printed with his "Critical Eſſays on ſome of the Poems of ſeveral Engliſh poets." Lond. 8vo. 1785.

XLIV. Elements of Punctuation, containing Remarks on an Eſſay on Punctuation, and Critical Obſervations on ſome paſſages in Milton. By David Steel, junior. 12mo. Lond. 1786.

XLV. Imitations and accidental Reſemblances of Milton, by T. H. W. (Thomas Holt White) Gent. Mag. 1786, 1787.

XLVI. Miſcellaneous Remarks on Milton, by T. C. O. [the late ingenious and amiable Mr. Headley of Trinity College, Oxford.] Gent. Mag. 1786, 1787.

XLVII. Criticiſm on Samſon Agoniſtes, in refutation of the cenſures of Dr. Johnſon. [By the late W. J. Mickle, Eſq.] Europ. Mag. 1788.

XLVIII. Curſory Remarks on ſome of the ancient Engliſh poets, particularly Milton. [By Philip Neve, Eſq.] 8vo. 1789.

XLIX. Remarks on the Greek Verſes of Milton, by Dr. Charles Burney, 1790.

L. Conjectures on the Origin of Paradiſe Loſt, by William Hayley, Eſq. Printed in his 2d edit. of the Life of Milton, 4to. 1796.

LI. The Similies of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, examined and compared, by J. A. Monthly Mag. 1796, 1797, 1798.

LII. On Milton's Imitations, or Reſemblances, in Par. Loſt, by the Rev. G. Wakefield. Monthly Mag. 1797, 1798.

LIII. Prelinminary Obſervations on Samſon Agoniſtes, as adapted to the Stage, in Critical, Poetical, and Dramatick Works, by John Penn, Eſq. 8vo. Lond. 1798.

LIV. Thoughts on the Origin of Paradiſe Loſt. By Joſeph

Cooper Walker, Eſq. Printed with his "Hiſtorical Memoir on Italian Tragedy." 4to. 1799.

LV. Conſiderations on Milton's early reading, and the prima ſtamina of his Par. Loſt; together with Extracts from a poet of the ſixteenth century, [Joſhua Sylveſter.] In a Letter to William Falconer, M.D., from Charles Dunſter, M.A. 8vo. Lond. 1800.

LVI. Criticiſm on Paradiſe Loſt, by Mr. Barron, in his Lectures on Belles Lettres, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1806.

LVII. Fragment of a Commentary on Paradiſe Loſt, by the late William Cowper, Eſq. [Subjoined to the Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, tranſlated into Engliſh Verſe by Cowper, accompanied with a Preface by Mr. Hayley, and Notes of Various Authors.] 4to. Chicheſter. 1808.

VERBAL INDEX

TO THE

POETRY OF MILTON.

VERBAL INDEX.

THE FOLLOWING INDEX will be found applicable to every edition of Milton's Poetical Works, whether publiſhed as an entire or partial collection; the circumſtance which reſpects *only the firſt edition* of Paradiſe Loſt, its appearance in *ten* books and the ſubſequent diviſion of thoſe ten into *twelve*, being remembered.

The explanation of the letters and figures uſed in this Index is as follows. The figures i, ii, iii, &c. refer to the reſpective *books* of Paradiſe Loſt and Paradiſe Regained. The figures 1, 2, 3, &c. refer to the *lines* of each book, or of each poem, according to their ſeveral deſcriptions. The letters thus.

THE ENGLISH POEMS.

P. L. ſignify ——	*Paradiſe Loſt.*
P. R.	*Paradiſe Regained.*
S. A.	*Samſon Agoniſtes.*
Lyc.	*Lycidas.*
L'Al.	*L'Allegro.*
Il Penſ.	*Il Penſeroſo.*
Arc.	*Arcades.*
Com.	*Comus.*
Son. i, ii. &c.	*Sonnets.*
Od. Nat.	*Ode on the Morning of Chriſt's Nativity.*
Od. Paſſ.	*Ode on the Paſſion.*
Od. Cir.	*Ode on the Circumciſion.*
Od. D. F. I.	*Ode on the Death of a Fair Infant.*

VERBAL INDEX.

Od. on Time, ſignify	*Ode on Time.*
Od. Sol. Muſ.	*Ode at a Solemn Muſick.*
Ep. M. Win.	*Epitaph on the Marchioneſs of Wincheſter.*
Od. May-M.	*Ode or Song on May-Morning.*
Vac. Ex.	*Verſes at a Vacation Exerciſe.*
Ep. W. Sh.	*Epitaph on W. Shakſpeare.*
Ep. Hobſ. I, II.	*The two Epitaphs on Hobſon.*
Forc. of Con.	*On the new Forcers of Conſcience,* &c.
Od. Hor.	*Fifth Ode of Horace tranſlated.*
Brut.	*Brutus,* &c. *Tranſlated from Geoffry of Monmouth.*
Dante, I, II.	*Tranſlations of Dante.*
Arioſt.	*Tranſlation of Arioſto.*
Hor. I, II, III.	*Other Tranſlations of Horace.*
Eurip.	*Tranſlation of Euripides.*
Soph.	*Tranſlation of Sophocles.*
Sen.	*Tranſlation of Seneca.*
Pſ. i, ii, &c.	*Tranſlation of Pſalms.*

THE GREEK POEMS.

Pſ. cxiv.	*Tranſlation of Pſalm* cxiv.
Phil. ad Reg.	*Philoſophus ad regem quendam,* &c.
In Eff.	*In Effigici Ejus Sculptorem.*

THE LATIN POEMS.

El. i, ii. &c.	*Elegiarum Liber.*
Add. El. vii.	*Additio Elegiæ* vii.
Ep. P. B. i, ii, &c.	*Epigrammata in Proditionem Bombardicam.*
Ep. I. B.	*Epigramma in Inventorem Bombardæ.*

VERBAL INDEX.

Ad Leon. i, ii, iii. ſignify *Epigrammata ad Leonoram Romæ canentem.*

In Salm. H.	*In Salmaſii Hundredam.*
In Salm.	*In Salmaſium.*
In Mor.	*In orum.*
Apol.	*Apologus de Ruſtico et Hero.*
Ad Chr.	*Ad Chriſtinam, Suecorum Reginam.*
In Ob. Pr.	*In Obitum Procancellarii.*
In Quint. Nov.	*In Quintum Novembris.*
In Ob. Pr. El.	*In Obitum Præſulis Elienſis.*
Nat. &c.	*Naturam non pati ſenium.*
De Id. Pl.	*De Ideâ Platonicâ,* &c.
Ad Patr.	*Ad Patrem.*
Ad Salſ.	*Ad Salſillum.*
Manſ.	*Manſus.*
Epit. Da.	*Epitaphium Damonis.*
Ad J. Ro.	*Ode ad Joannem Rouſium.*

THE ITALIAN POEMS.

Son. ii, iii, &c.	*Sonnets.*
Can.	*Canzone.*

A VERBAL

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